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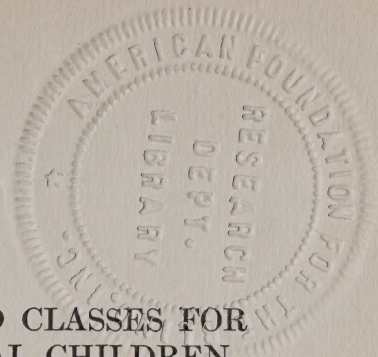
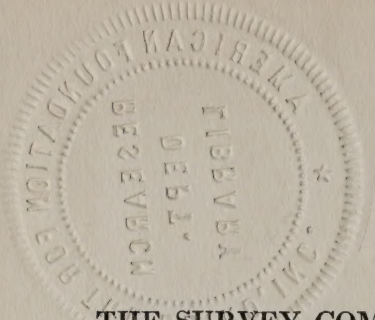


SCHOOLS AND CLASSES FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN



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SCHOOLS AND CLASSES FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

BY

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THE SURVEY COMMITTEE OF THE CLEVELAND FOUNDATION
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FOREWORD

This report on "Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children" is one of the 25 sections of the report of the Education Survey of Cleveland conducted by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation in 1915. Twenty-three of these sections will be published as separate monographs. In addition there will be a larger volume giving a summary of the findings and recommendations relating to the regular work of the public schools, and a second similar volume giving the summary of those sections relating to industrial education. Copies of all these publications may be obtained from the Cleveland Foundation. They may also be obtained from the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. A complete list will be found in the back of this volume, together with prices.

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SCHOOLS AND CLASSES FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

CHAPTER I

PROVISION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN IN CLEVELAND

Cleveland has been a pioneer in providing advantages for children who did not fit into the regular grades. In more than one instance this city had the first class of a type in the country. That other cities have been given the credit for the first organization is probably due to the fact that in Cleveland successive reorganizations have tended to disrupt the continuity of the work. In the following statement only main features are presented.

Boys' School

Truant and incorrigible boys first received attention. In 1876, 40 pupils were enrolled in the "Special Unclassified School for Boys." These pupils because of "immoral conduct were a detriment to the work of the regular classes." In order to avoid the danger of any opprobrium attaching to the pupils, the name was later changed to the Boys' School. At that time,

1887, there were 211 incorrigible boys attending classes in three different buildings. Three years later two more classes were organized. Owing to a belief that the schools were not accomplishing the desired result, the number was reduced to two in 1895. These schools were located in opposite ends of the city and each was under the control of a male principal with one woman assistant. In 1904 the east and west divisions were united in the present Boys' School. According to the weekly report of March 22, 1915, there were enrolled 273 pupils under the direction of 14 teachers. Some of these pupils had been committed by the Juvenile Court and were enrolled in the detention part of the school. The other children had been transferred by the school authorities.

School for the Deaf

The school for the deaf and dumb was authorized by the School Council in 1893. One teacher was appointed and 20 children attended the first year. The class was supported from the common school fund. In 1896, the state legislature enacted a law providing for the enumeration of all children who were deaf or defective in speech to such a degree that they did not make satisfactory progress in regular classes. For each child the state was to pay to a community $150 a year, providing the community maintained day schools in which special instruction might be given to these unfortunates. The payment of this money was held up after the first two years, the state, in the

opinion of the state auditor, not having the legal power to make such use of its funds. Under these conditions the school was reorganized for oral instruction and again maintained from the common school fund.

In 1906, the state made mandatory the "education of all those deaf and dumb and those who, by reason of speech defect, were unable to carry on the work of the elementary grades." Provision was again made for payment to the community of $150 per year for each child, and the attendance of the child at the special school was required. With the regular payment of this sum the progress of the school has been continuous. The number of pupils increased and the necessity for better accommodation was clearly demonstrated. In the beginning of the school year 1914–15, the present building was occupied. There were in attendance 107 children, instructed by 14 teachers.

Classes for Backward Children

Probably the first class for backward children in America was organized in Cleveland in 1893. The report of the superintendent for the year 1904 states that 20 classes for backward children were organized in that year. No mention is made of the classes which had been conducted in the years in between. The 20 classes were in different school buildings. They were for "backward pupils and those who for sickness or other reasons were behind their classes." Each class was limited to 15 pupils, who were given instruction in subjects in which they were weak.

Four years after the organization of these classes, 11 more were begun.

Since that time a change has been made in the method of dealing with these children. Only 15 classes are at present conducted in the different schools. To accommodate other backward children one large school is set aside. With a desire to accomplish what was really necessary, without accurate information as to the needs, the authorities set aside Longwood School. This school was too large for the number of backward children found within a sufficiently limited area. In order to make use of the entire plant, first and second grade children of normal mentality are also sent to the school. Thus we have the unusual condition of normal children attending a school for backward pupils. The 15 classes in the different schools contain 330 children. Longwood School has 472 backward children in 17 classes.

Classes for Defectives

It was realized that the backward were not the lowest grade of children. As a result four classes were organized in 1905 for "defective pupils." Because of the satisfactory results, this number was doubled in the following year. Since that time several others have been organized, and there are now 18 classes for 240 subnormal children.

"Steamer" Classes

Foreigners who did not succeed in the regular grades because they did not know the English language were

first given special instruction in 1901. In that year, according to one of the assistant superintendents, the principal of Harmon School began the experiment of the "Steamer" classes. Other schools took up the work, and during the past year 404 foreign pupils in 18 different classes had the opportunity of special instruction.

Classes for Epileptics

A class for epileptics was organized in 1907 and 10 children were sent to it. The number has varied during the interval, and in 1914–15, only four epileptics were enrolled. The number of pupils in the class was increased to 11 by the addition of other children, the majority of whom were recent immigrants. The class for epileptics is thus composed of four epileptics and seven "unclassified."

School for Crippled Children

The instruction of crippled children was undertaken by the public school authorities in 1908. The school was located in a frame structure from which it has not been moved, but to which additions have been made in order to accommodate the increasing number of candidates. Seven teachers were employed and 90 children attended during the past school year.

Elementary Industrial School

The Elementary Industrial School was established in 1909. A child who had taken eight or more years to

reach the sixth grade was offered the opportunity of attending a school in which one-half of the time would be spent in industrial work. The school proved popular, and many children not retarded have applied for admission. The number of retarded children has always been sufficient to tax the capacity of the school. Last year there were 232 children in the industrial school under the direction of 11 teachers.

Training Centers (Industrial Schools)

The efforts of the Elementary Industrial School were so well received that three more industrial schools were established. These schools have recently been named "training centers" and have admitted children who would never be able to reach the higher grades. In these centers there were last year 134 children for whom 11 teachers had been provided.

Classes for the Blind

The initial year for the instruction of the blind in classes specially organized for them was 1909. Only one class was opened and the children were sent to the regular grades for as much instruction as could possibly be given in this way. There were last year six of these classes for a total of 48 children. Three classes are for the totally blind and the others are for those children whose vision is so defective that it is impossible for them to work satisfactorily in the regular grades.

Open Air Classes

Open air classes have been in existence for four years. The majority of the classes are in rooms of the regular schools. In the newest buildings special accommodations of the most approved type are provided. Altogether there were in the spring of 1915 eight classes in which 218 children were taught.

Irregularity in the Organization of the Classes

In this brief review it has been impossible to show in detail the development of each type of class. Various reorganizations have taken place. A number of similar classes have been organized under different names, and the same kind of children have been placed in classes with different names. The first industrial school was for pupils who had completed the fifth grade. The later industrial schools contain a very large proportion of pupils who could not succeed in carrying on the work of the fifth grade. Many of the latter children are feebleminded. The recent change of name to "training centers" shows that the difference in the children has been recognized. In addition to these industrial schools there is the Mound Industrial School, which differs from regular grade schools only in that after the fifth grade each child spends a considerable portion of his time in manual training and in allied branches. Any child who does not wish to take up this work is transferred to a nearby school. The children in this school are

not in the least subnormal. They are listed, however, as attending the same type of school as many who will never be able to make their own living.

The table on this page shows the enrollment in each sort of school and class in the spring of 1915.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND CLASSES IN 1915

	Number of children	Number of teachers
Boys	273	14
Deaf	107	14
Backward classes	330	15
Backward School	472	17
Steamer	404	18
Defective	240	18
Epileptic	11	1
Crippled	90	7
Elementary Industrial	232	11
Industrial training centers	134	11
Blind	48	6
Open air	218	8
Total	2,559	140

Summary

The first special class in America was established in Cleveland. The development has been rapid but irregular. There are now 12 kinds of special schools and classes, enrolling more than 2,500 children and cared for by 140 teachers.

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CHAPTER II

WHY WE HAVE SPECIAL CLASSES

With universal compulsory education the special class became a necessity. Before the enactment of laws requiring the education of every child, it was possible to exclude those who did not fit into the system. By this means the children in the various grades were made a more or less homogeneous group. As compulsory attendance laws were more strictly enforced, children of all types were brought into school. Not only the dull and the bright, but also the weak and strong were forced into a scheme of things which had not been planned to include all. The schools were arranged for the so-called average child, but here were brought together many who for various reasons could not possibly be included in a group of normal children.

Since the state had decreed that every child shall be educated, it has laid upon itself the obligation of providing suitable instruction for all the different types of children found in a community. It will not do to arrange a curriculum which will be satisfactory for a limited group of these children, and then assume that all those who do not conform to the arrangement

must suffer for their lack of conformity. Nor is it right that those who do conform to the prescribed condition should be penalized by the presence in the class of those who cannot advance with them. The aim and purpose of compulsory education will be defeated unless the principle is followed of giving to each child the most suitable instruction.

In Cleveland 22,275 children have been in the schools at least one year longer than should have been necessary for them to reach the grades in which we find them. Of these children, 6,731 have repeated two years of their school life. Some are behind as many as four, five, or six years. Most of these children are found in the lower grades of the school and are in the same rooms as much younger children. There are children in the lower grades of the school who have been in the school system long enough to have completed eight grades of work.

This condition is not due to laziness or indifference on the part of the children. At the root of the problem there is a much more fundamental difficulty. There are many children who are incapable of doing in a year the work prescribed for a grade. Some are able to do much more work than is required by the course of study. Other children require one, two, or three years to complete the same amount of work which more able children complete in one year.

The reason for slow progress is not the same in every case. Some children suffer from removable physical handicaps. Many have defective hearing or vision. These children are unable to progress as

rapidly as children who are free from such defects. Other children are slow in grasping the meaning of a lesson. They gradually drop further and further behind their fellows. Some of these slow children are so very slow that no matter how much time or energy is expended they will never be satisfactory pupils in the present organization of classes.

This problem cannot be solved by the organization of more special classes of the present type. There is a considerable number of the children for whom the present curriculum has not been satisfactory. To meet the needs of these children there should be different programs of instruction. The child of unusual ability must be allowed to advance as rapidly and to cover as much ground as he possibly can. The child of less ability should be allowed to advance as rapidly as he can in those studies for which he has ability. The bright pupil needs a wide and diverse curriculum, but it is altogether undesirable to call upon all children to do everything for which the brightest have ability. For the slowest of the slow children, that is, for the feebleminded, a curriculum should be devised which will meet the needs of these children in the same way that the curricula for the other children will fit their needs.

In order to carry out the general scheme, special classes must be organized for certain types of exceptional children. The blind child, unable to read the numbers or the letters on the board, is handicapped to such an extent that with no more than the regular instruction he cannot do the regular work. Like-

wise the deaf, the crippled, the tubercular, etc., are unable to keep pace with the normal child unless they are given advantages which the normal child does not get. Feebleminded children, incapable of profiting by work which is given to all the children of normal mentality, must be trained in conditions which will best suit their individual needs.

Division of Exceptional Children in Two Groups

The so-called exceptional children may be divided into two groups. On the one hand, we have those who in many ways are defective and different from the majority, but who will become independent, self-supporting units of society. These children are socially competent. On the other hand, we have those whose defect is such that the individual must always be dependent on others and more or less supported by them. These children are socially incompetent.

Those exceptional children of normal mentality who are suffering from physical defect belong to the socially competent group. They must take their places in a world of normal people. These children are the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the tubercular, etc. In the same group of socially competent we place certain of those who for some reason other than physical defect do not fit into the scheme of things. This group is only temporarily debarred from the activities which the normal child enjoys. The reason for the separation may be found in environ-

mental conditions. A child who does not come to this country until after the usual time for commencing school does not know how to communicate with his schoolmates or with his teacher. For a time he is a social misfit.

In the same way a child who has not had the training which would make him an acceptable member of society may require temporary segregation. This class of children we recognize as incorrigible and delinquent. In all these cases the common characteristic is that eventually they will become self-supporting members of the community. For this reason we designate them as socially competent.

The other exceptional children are the socially incompetent. These are the ones who, no matter what the opportunity given them, are incapable of self-support. They will always be more or less dependent on others for their welfare. They lack ability to control their own affairs with "an ordinary degree of prudence." This group contains the insane, the epileptic, and the feebleminded, those known as morons, imbeciles, idio-imbeciles, and idiots.

The criterion by which we distinguish the two groups of exceptional children is that of social fitness. Can a child be educated for self-support and an independent existence in the community? If so, he is socially competent. If not, he is socially incompetent. A child of normal mentality may be so badly deformed that he will require certain assistance, but this does not make him socially incompetent. The fact is that a child of normal mentality must live in a

world of normal people and should be educated for normal associations. The child who can not become an independent member of the community should be trained for his life of dependence.

The difference in treatment accorded to the two groups must be based on this fundamental difference between social competence and social incompetence. The socially competent will spend the greater part of their lives in close association with other self-supporting units of society—the normal people. They will not be segregated in institutions. Because of this fact their education should aim to make them capable of normal associations. For this purpose their education should take place in the regular school buildings and as much as possible with normal children. Much of the instruction will necessarily be given to groups of similarly handicapped children, but wherever it is possible they should be taught in the regular classrooms.

The policy for the training of the socially incompetent is in sharp contrast to that for the education of the socially competent. Their distinguishing characteristic is that they are unable to exist as independent units of society. Some of these are insane, some are epileptic, and some are feebleminded. In the case of the insane we have fully recognized the dependence and have eliminated them from the schools. The necessity for a segregation of the epileptic and the feebleminded has not yet been universally recognized. Nevertheless, modern science shows that when these people reach the age of maturity they should become

permanent residents of institutions. For this reason their training should be directed toward making them capable of contributing something toward their own maintenance in a place where most of their actions are directed by others. Since the aim is segregation of all those who will find it impossible to maintain an independent existence, it is not desirable to attempt to train them for association with normal people. No benefit is derived by the normal nor by the socially incompetent child from an enforced association in the regular school or classroom. On the contrary, such an association is harmful rather than beneficial. The training of the socially incompetent should take place in separate classrooms, and, if possible, in separate buildings.

Summary

Universal compulsory education has gathered into the schools children of widely varying abilities and different degrees of physical well-being. The community, having decreed that every child should be educated, must assume the responsibility of providing suitable instruction for all children. Failure to do this effectively has caused many children to be sidetracked on the way, and the school system is clogged with misfits. The fundamental reason for this is that the schools contain children of all degrees of ability and children with serious physical handicaps.

To meet the needs of these children different programs of instruction must be provided. The abnormally slow and the seriously handicapped must be

sent to special classes. The type of class will depend upon the capacity of the children, whether they will be socially competent or socially incompetent.

The socially competent should be placed in special classes in the regular schools, to be trained for association with normal people. The socially incompetent should be sent to special schools to be trained for permanent segregation.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIALLY COMPETENT

Classes for the Blind

There are two kinds of classes for the blind. One is for children totally blind and the other for children frequently called semi-blind. There are three classes of each type. A class is in session for six hours a day in a regular school building. The instruction follows closely that of the regular grades, each blind child being supposed to cover the same work as the normal child. As much as possible the blind are taught in classes with seeing children. The special teachers of the blind are tutors for the group rather than class teachers. Their function is to assist the blind child in those subjects in which he is unable to make progress as rapidly as the seeing child with the same amount of instruction.

This arrangement of having the blind taught in the classes with seeing children has been called the "Cleveland plan." It is one of the several instances in which this city is a pioneer. In adult life the blind and the semi-blind will not be segregated in institutions but will spend their lives in association with normal people. They are prepared for participation

in normal social intercourse by education, as far as possible, in classes with seeing children. Precisely this principle leads us to recommend similar treatment for all other socially competent but exceptional children.

A note of warning must be sounded. The time that the regular teacher of the grade spends upon blind children should be relatively no greater than she spends on normal children. It is not fair to the seeing child that a greater proportion of the teacher's time should be given to those who are in the class only for the lesson period. The advantages which the blind receive must not be at the expense of the normal children. There is a limit to the amount of work that may profitably be given to blind children in the regular rooms. Any assistance needed by these exceptional children beyond the amount given to the normal child should be given by the special teacher of the blind. At the same time the principals and teachers must not forget that the blind children are spending certain of their recitation periods in the regular classes for serious educational purposes. They are pupils and not mere visitors. They must be held to a full measure of responsibility.

The classes are supervised by one who is listed in the superintendent's annual report as the "Special Teacher of the Blind." He is recognized by the teachers assigned to the classes as the supervisor of the work. The arrangement is not conducive to the best development. With the duties of an office to perform, it is always more satisfactory for the responsible person to have a position which is clearly

distinguished from that of his assistants. A division for the instruction of the blind should be created, and the office of "Supervisor" of this department should replace that of the "Special Teacher of the Blind."

The teachers of the classes are selected from the regular grades by this special teacher. At the present time there is no place in the country where special training for teachers of the blind in public schools is given. The opinion is fairly general that the instruction of the blind does not require as highly specialized preparation as does the instruction of children with some other defects. In a few months an intelligent grade teacher may be developed into a competent teacher of the blind. The teachers who have been selected are in most cases bright and capable and, considering the limited period of training which some have had for this work, they are very competent. The salary is 10 per cent in excess of that paid to grade teachers. This increase is partial compensation for the extra time the classes are in session rather than for expert qualifications.

There are two ways in which the work for the blind and semi-blind could be greatly helped and at a relatively slight cost. In the first place, more generous provision should be made for printing school texts in very large type so as to supply adequate reading material for semi-blind children. A good beginning has been made in this work, but the supply of these books is not as yet nearly adequate.

A second important step would be the appointment of a visiting teacher who could effectively coördinate

the work of the school and the home in behalf of these handicapped children. The work with the children would give far greater results if it could be wisely followed up through systematic visiting in the homes of the children. At present the parents are frequently greatly at a loss in attempting to train blind children properly.

The children are selected by the Division of Medical Inspection. A child is transferred to the special class unless the Special Teacher of the Blind suspects that the child may not have normal intelligence. In such a case a diagnosis of mentality is made. Such a proceeding is highly desirable if the diagnosis is the result of thorough and competent testing. No feebleminded child should be admitted to any classes in which children are supposed to be trained to take independent positions in the world. Whether or not the method of diagnosis is satisfactory we shall consider when we discuss the problem of the selection of the feebleminded.

The number of children who should be taught in classes for the semi-blind is considerably greater than the number at present receiving the advantages. From 15 to 30 per cent of school populations have been found to have seriously defective vision. Most of these may be provided with glasses and be able to continue their work in the regular grades. For a considerable number of them there should be provided the same kind of instruction as is now given in the classes for the semi-blind. The proportion of Cleveland's children who have defective vision may be

assumed to be similar. The number now instructed in classes for semi-blind is less than one-twentieth of one per cent of the school population.

Objections to the extension of the work cannot be very serious. The state law providing for the instruction of the blind in special day-school classes places no limit on the number of children who may profit by the instruction. Any child whose defective vision makes regular progress in the grades impossible for him may be selected for these advantages. For each such child the state will contribute $200 per year. Special classes should be provided for all children with seriously defective vision.

To summarize: The "Cleveland plan" for the instruction of the blind is highly desirable and should be continued. A division for the instruction of the blind and semi-blind, under the direction of a supervisor, should be created. Many more children should be included in these classes.

Classes for the Deaf

Cleveland has shown its progressive spirit in the education of one class of handicapped children. The blind are given an education in an environment best calculated to train them for association with normal people. For the deaf liberal provision has been made in the construction of a modern, well-equipped building. Unfortunately it was not realized that the deaf would also be better fitted for association with normal people if their education were given in close rela-

tion with those who would later be their regular companions. Every deaf child needs all the contact possible with normal children. For this reason deaf children should receive their education in special classes in the regular schools rather than in a special school.

By the present arrangement the deaf child is separated from the normal during the entire period of the school sessions. He is educated in an abnormal environment, an environment in which all his companions have a similar affliction. This is the wrong sort of education. He should be as much as possible in the same conditions in which he will have to live. This means that a considerable number of classes should be established in the regular school buildings. When this is done, a certain part of the instruction will be given to a group of deaf children in a group by themselves. As in the case of the blind, as much of the instruction as possible should be given in classes with normal children. In the early part of school life the time that the deaf are in the same room with hearing children may well be limited to physical exercises, simple manual work, and similar activities. As the children develop and become skillful in lip-reading, more and more of the time may profitably be spent in classes with normal children.

There may be opposition to this plan from those who have been interested in the development of the present school. The ones who have advised the education of the deaf in a separate school have been under the influence of the institution idea. They

have not realized that in separating these children from their companions of later life there are developed types of behavior which will increase their difficulties.

The present school is similar to the grade schools in organization. The work of the classrooms is the same as that done by normal children. The pupils spend approximately the same amount of time in the different studies. The school is supervised by a principal whose function is the same as that of a principal in a regular elementary school.

The present teaching staff includes the principal, who was a teacher in the school before she was appointed principal. Her training was obtained in a training school for teachers of deaf children. Of the other teachers, 10 were trained in similar schools. Four teachers were selected from the list of regular grade teachers because, at the salaries offered, it was impossible to procure others who had the necessary qualifications.

In the selection of the teachers the authorities have not been so liberal as they were in the construction of the building. It is poor policy to spend large sums of money on the erection and maintenance of a plant and handicap the work by failing to provide adequately trained teachers. For every teacher of the regular grades a period of practice teaching is required with the type of child with which the teacher will eventually deal. For a teacher of the deaf the requirement should be no less rigid. Besides the preparation necessary for instruction of the children

in the regular grade studies, special preparation in articulation and in lip-reading is decidedly necessary. No one is qualified by an innate capacity for such work. Definite practice is required in the same way that definite practice is necessary for the teaching of arithmetic, history, or geography.

The principal of the school reports that occasionally she has been unable to procure satisfactory teachers because the salaries offered were inadequate. The maximum salary is the same as that for the regular teachers. This is not sufficient for the person who has spent the time necessary to prepare herself for this particular type of work. Such a person is able to command greater compensation than the one who has ceased training when she has reached the qualifications of a grade teacher. Several special teachers have been approached by the principal and have signified their willingness to accept positions if the compensation were as much as they could procure elsewhere. The required salary was refused and the teachers went to other schools. The result of this policy has been to compel the principal to accept the ones who, because of meager qualifications, were unable to command the higher salaries offered in other places.

For this condition there is not the excuse that the city has not sufficient money. The special state appropriation is adequate to meet the expense of instruction even with considerably larger salaries being paid. The present per capita cost of the instruction of the deaf is given in the 1914 report as

$133.81. For each child the city receives more than $16 in excess of this amount. Since there are on the average seven children for each teacher, an average increase of salary amounting to $110 per year might be given before the city would be required to contribute toward the cost of instruction. This amount would be inadequate to compensate a teacher for the extra time she should spend in preparation, but it would help considerably to remedy the situation.

The Division of Medical Inspection selects the children. According to the principal, whenever, in her opinion, a child is mentally defective, he is not allowed to enter the special school. "About 20 children have been rejected in the last two or three years." Feebleminded children should be excluded from classes for the deaf, but the exclusion should be based on an examination by a trained psychologist.

The enrollment in the school in 1914–15 was probably not more than 15 per cent of those who should be given the advantages of the special training. Investigations have shown that more than one per cent of the children in an average school system are too deaf to profit by instruction in the regular grades. This means that in Cleveland there are more than 700 children who should be taught in classes for the deaf. Deducting the number now in the school, there are still 600 pupils who are missing the advantages which are necessary if the children are to make the progress of which they are capable. For these children provision may be made without great difficulty. The state has set no limit to the number of deaf children

that may be found in a community. For every one found, $150 will be contributed. The number suffering from the handicap should be carefully determined and special opportunity be given them.

Besides those for whom special classes are necessary, there are many children who are unable to hear as well as the majority of the pupils. In any large group five per cent will probably be found with slightly defective hearing. For these children special classes are not required, but the most favorable positions in the rooms should be given to them. Frequently these children are the ones who are considered inattentive, restless, stupid, or feebleminded. The real difficulty is that they are laboring under a serious handicap.

In accordance with the scheme outlined for the education of the socially competent, we recommend the organization of classes for the deaf in regular school buildings. The present building for the deaf would thus be left free for some other purpose. The use to which it should be put will require mature consideration. One suggestion is that the building be turned into an Administration Building for the Board of Education. The need for such a building can hardly be disputed, and a more satisfactory one, already constructed, could hardly be found. Another suggestion is that the building be used as a school for the feebleminded.

To summarize: In dealing with the deaf child Cleveland should follow the same progressive plan which is followed in the treatment of the blind.

Classes for the deaf should be established in a considerable number of regular schools. Sufficient compensation should be offered to attract adequately trained teachers. Probably more than 700 children should have the advantage of the special instruction now given to one-seventh of this number.

Classes for Crippled Children

The school for crippled children is located in a temporary frame structure in close proximity to a regular school. As the number of children has increased additions have been made to the building. Children are referred to the school by the Division of Medical Inspection. The teachers have been selected from the regular grade staff. The work of the children in this school is similar to that of children in other schools. The principal has the same duties as a regular elementary school principal.

At the present time plans are being considered for the erection of a building which will include all modern facilities for the instruction of the crippled. Before this plan is put into effect it would be wise to consider whether or not the city is getting into the same difficulty with the crippled children as it has with the deaf. All children admitted to these classes should have sufficient ability to learn trades or professions by which they may make their own living. If a selection is made which will bring about this result, every child will eventually take his place in the world in close association with normal people.

For this reason his education should be given in circumstances most likely to develop normal reactions. Ideally this will be in the same surroundings as provided for the well-formed and strong child. Classes for the crippled children should be conducted in regular school buildings, each class being organized where it is most convenient for a sufficient number of children.

In such a case the expense of conducting the classes may be expected to be somewhat greater than if the classes are all in one building. A duplication of equipment, unnecessary in a single school, may be unavoidable when the classes are at different centers. Transportation of the children to one center is probably less costly than transportation to different centers. With the present arrangement in Cleveland the excess in cost for transportation to different centers should be a minimum. The increased cost which would result from having a number of classes would be caused by the number of trips that would have to be made to take the children to and from the different schools. Cleveland now uses several vehicles, and there seems to be no reason why it should be much more expensive for each to go to a separate school than for all to go to one school. Taking into consideration the greater worth of the special classes, the additional expense seems quite justifiable.

As a basis for further development of the work, the data collected by the survey now being conducted to discover the number of cripples in Cleveland should be used. Estimates of the number of crippled chil-

dren in the United States vary from 50,000 to 250,000. Even if the lower figure is the correct one and an equally low proportion holds for Cleveland, there must be here several hundred children handicapped by marked physical deformities. About 100 of these are now in the school for cripples. The others get along as well as they can in the regular grades or are compelled to remain at home.

To summarize: The organization of special classes in regular schools should be fundamental to further plans for the crippled. The greater value of the special class should lead to its adoption in spite of the fact that the actual expenditure will be greater. Probably several hundred children should be sent to these special classes for cripples.

Open Air Classes

A regular school building is usually the place for open air classes. With anæmic children and those with tubercular tendencies Cleveland is following the wise method of instruction. These exceptional children are educated in the same schools as strong, healthy children. Teachers are selected from the staff of grade teachers, and the effort is to get the children through the amount of work prescribed for the regular grades.

The results are eminently satisfactory. The average rate of progress is faster than that in the regular grades. In one class of 32 children, only two were not promoted. Twenty-two completed the work of

only one grade, while the remaining eight covered from one to two years of work in one year. Such a record is rarely found in regular classrooms where the children are supposed to be relatively free from physical defects.

The success of the children is the only argument necessary to convince one that the opportunity should be extended to all who might profit by it. Five per cent or more of any school population have a tendency to tuberculosis, and the number of ill-nourished children is not less than five per cent. The children of both these groups are much better off if they spend the greater part of their time in the open air. Of course, for the ill-nourished, fresh air is not a substitute for good food. Along with the fresh air it is necessary to see that the children do not lack nourishment. In time we may expect that plenty of fresh air and plenty of good food will be the lot of every child in the schools.

To summarize: By providing open air rooms in the regular schools Cleveland has adopted the wise method of educating together those who must live and work together. The success of the children is sufficient to warrant the extension of the opportunity to all who might profit by it.

"Steamer" Classes

Children who do not speak English come to every large center of population. For a time these children are misfits in the regular grades. They should be

given the opportunity to learn the language before they are placed in a class with 30 or 40 other children who are not similarly handicapped. In 1901 the principal of Harmon School recognized this necessity and organized the first "Steamer" class.

The value of the work is not easily overestimated. Children in these classes are able in the course of a few weeks to cover an amount of work which would require many months if it were done in regular classes. One boy was sent to the fourth grade of a regular school but made very little progress. One of the assistant superintendents found him and decided that he could do the work of the high school if the language difficulty were removed. Special teaching was tried, and the boy very soon took his place in the high school. Many similar results from special teaching of foreign children amply repay us for the effort expended on them. The number of classes must be determined almost entirely by the number of children of school age who are coming to this country. Wherever there are children in the school who fail to make progress because of a language handicap, special instruction should be given them.

During the period of the Survey, children were seen in rooms where they were altogether out of place. In one school two boys, one 13 and the other 15 years of age, were found seated at desks designed for first grade children. The other pupils in the room were much smaller, the majority being only six years old. In such conditions a teacher is unable to give to exceptional children the individual attention they

require. The children have the added disadvantage that they feel out of place. Not only are the other pupils in the room mere infants compared with them, but the inconvenience of sitting at desks provided for children of the first grade is great. Compelling them to remain in those seats for five hours in a day is a penalty which should not be imposed on these recent and hopeful immigrants.

Membership in the "Steamer" classes will necessarily be temporary. Just as soon as a child is able to make progress with the instruction in a grade suitable to his age, he should be transferred to it. The essential point in the organization of a class is to fit he children as rapidly as possible to take their places among English-speaking children.

In the "Steamer" classes visited during the Survey, children were seen who should have been in other classes. One of the teachers stated that nearly all the children in her class were mentally defective. We need not accept the statement as an absolutely accurate estimate, but it is true that there were children in that class and in many of the others whose difficulty was not alone with the language. These children were below normal in intelligence and they should not have been allowed to impede the progress of brighter pupils. In some cases a careful examination might result in a diagnosis of feeblemindedness and consequent transfer to classes for the feebleminded.

To summarize: The purpose of the "Steamer" classes is the rapid acquirement of the English lan-

guage. The progress of the children amply justifies the expense of all advantages given to them. The advantages should be given to every child who does not speak English. The work of the classes should not be handicapped by the presence of feebleminded children.

Speech Defects

Cleveland has not yet made any provision for the children with defective speech. Some arrangement should be made for the instruction of these children during the early part of school life. Experience has shown that in many cases a cure may be effected with comparative ease if the training is begun at an early stage. When neglected, the difficulty of cure is greatly increased, and in many cases the defective speech becomes a permanent condition. There are probably more than 1,000 children in the schools of Cleveland who are suffering from some form of speech defect. Many of these are now handicapped because of neglect.

In every large school there should be organized a speech class in which the children would be trained by specially qualified teachers. The most satisfactory plan would require the children to be in this class for a portion of each day. During the remainder of the school day the regular teachers would be responsible for seeing that pupils did not continue in their old habits.

Since the number of children is so great, the expense of daily instruction is probably more than can

be undertaken at present. It has been demonstrated that great improvement and even cure can be effected if only one-half hour of instruction is given per week. To make this instruction most effective, directions should be given for practice to be carried on daily. The regular teachers and the parents would coöperate with the special teacher in the oversight of this daily drill. The corps of nurses, in their frequent contact with the parents, might render invaluable service in this field.

The special teachers should be very carefully chosen. We have not yet reached the stage where any number of successful teachers may be recommended. Undoubtedly there are people in Cleveland, as there are in other places, who are ready to guarantee cure. At the present stage of development of this work no responsible person would undertake to guarantee the cure of even the simplest kinds of speech defect. The qualified teacher of children with defective speech is in the same relation to them that the physician is to his patient. A reputable physician does not guarantee cure of patients. Medical practice is on so firm a foundation that there is no necessity for such claims. Certain diseases are known to yield to certain types of treatment, but in the individual cases the physician is not the sole arbiter of health or life and death. Complicating factors at times defy the skill of the greatest physician. The treatment of speech defects is on the same plane so far as the cure of it is concerned. In other words, while cures will be effected in a great many

cases, there is no system which will insure cure in any particular case. One holding out a guarantee of cure would not be a satisfactory person for the position.

Nor would one whose experience was limited to that of a grade teacher be satisfactory. Such a one should not be selected and sent to some training school for a brief period of a year or two. In that time one could not qualify to carry on the work. Two or three courses with some one supposedly expert will never qualify a teacher for a position which requires all the resourcefulness and training that come through long experience. To make the work satisfactory, the most desirable selection would probably be of one who has had several years' experience in articulation work in an institution or school for the deaf. Nevertheless not every teacher trained in a school for the deaf would be satisfactory. The training of those with defective speech which is not due to deafness requires a resourcefulness which is not a common characteristic of any particular group of people. One might be very successful with the deaf and yet not have the ability to adapt himself to the conditions of the work with the child who stutters or has an infantile stammer.

The elimination of speech defect is an experimental matter, and no one is qualified to say that any one method may be used in any case. The claims of the so-called "expert" are possible only when there is a profound ignorance of the problems involved. Not all stutterers may be treated alike, and the differentiation in the treatment must be made on the basis of a

keen insight into the nature of the individual child. The person who is selected as the special teacher must have had not only extensive experience in articulation, but also expert training in the fields of pedagogy and psychology.

There are probably very few teachers in the country who have the requisite training. Nevertheless work should soon be undertaken for children who have defective speech. At least one of the best teachers obtainable, and as many assistants as possible, should be procured and a beginning made by the organization of speech classes in a number of schools.

The expense of the initial work might to a considerable extent be met by the following method. The state law which provides for the training of the deaf makes possible the payment of $150 per year for each of the "deaf and dumb and *those who by reason of speech defect* are unable to carry on the work of the regular elementary grades." The money which might be obtained in this way would provide for special teachers and assistants who would devote their time to training children in articulation.

The method by which the children would be selected is similar to that for other classes. Each teacher should be required to report any child who does not speak plainly or easily. Such a child should have a physical examination, and any abnormal conditions should be as far as possible remedied. When this has been done, a careful mental examination should be given to determine whether or not the child is a satis-

factory candidate for this special instruction. This examination should be made by the specialist suggested in the section of this report dealing with the selection of the feebleminded.

The reason for this careful examination is to provide against the admission of feebleminded children. Every one is familiar with stories of those who were developed into normal children through instruction in speech. But modern science has shown that no feebleminded person could ever be made normal by the elimination of a speech defect. There is no use spending time on such children in the hope that with the cure of the speech defect the feeblemindedness will disappear. The special teacher for the children with speech defects should never have mentally defective children to teach.

To summarize: No provision has yet been made for the children with defective speech. Probably more than 1,000 Cleveland children require special speech training. Speech classes should be organized in many schools. The teacher should be a qualified articulation teacher, with special training in pedagogy and psychology. A beginning in the work should be made immediately with the best teachers obtainable. State funds may pay for the instruction of a considerable number. No feebleminded children should be admitted to the classes.

Restoration Classes

Many children change from school to school because the parents change their places of residence. As a

result they are not promoted at the end of a term as are other children who have spent the entire time in one school. The failure to advance is not due to lack of ability but to home conditions which make regular attendance impossible. Other children have been absent because of illness. Their own ill-health or the ill-health of some member of the family has made it impossible for them to receive the usual amount of instruction.

Each child who is retarded for reasons such as these should be given opportunity to recover lost ground at the earliest possible moment. None of them should be required to repeat work which has once been satisfactorily covered. Each one should be "tutored" for a sufficient period of time to bring him up to the standard of children of his own age. Because these children are expected to be restored to their grades we call the classes in which they are to be taught "restoration" classes.

A third group of children who require the same type of instruction should be included in these classes. In determining the identity of the feebleminded, cases will be found about whom a definite diagnosis is impossible at the first examination. In such cases one of the best methods of testing the intelligence is close observation over a considerable period of time. The conditions under which the child is instructed are definitely known and an evaluation of progress made under such conditions frequently leads to certain diagnosis. These cases may or may not be "restoration" cases. The child is always given the

benefit of the doubt and he is placed in a class where the requisite intensive training may be carried on. As soon as the further examination of such children results in a definite diagnosis they should be transferred.

For restoration classes teachers of exceptional ability are required. They must be the best trained teachers available and must have sufficient resourcefulness to adapt the instruction to the needs of the children. They must be experts in all subjects so that the best methods with each child may be used no matter what the difficulty may be. They should be able to take a large group and give those children group recitations in one subject. In the same way they should be able to take a small group of two or three and give those children intensive training in a subject in which they may have happened to fall behind. They should also be able to make an accurate report of the behavior of children and be able to state with scientific accuracy what a child knows. These last requirements are for the benefit of those doubtful cases who are placed in the classes for a definite period of instruction. Such expert teachers should be given extra compensation.

The object of these classes is two-fold. They are to give to retarded children who can make up for lost time the opportunity to do so. They are also to give to doubtful cases a period of intensive training. Classes should be located in regular school buildings, a class being organized whenever and wherever there are children who need the instruction.

To summarize: Irregularity of attendance frequently causes retardation. A diagnosis of mental grade in children whose ability is doubtful may usually be made after a period of intensive training. Restoration classes should provide opportunity for the retarded to advance, and for the doubtful ones to prove their ability. The teachers of these classes must be among the very best in the school system and because of this should receive extra compensation.

Classes for Incorrigibles

Many children who are not feebleminded and who do not, so far as we know, suffer from physical defects are misfits. They are not fundamentally bad or vicious. The boy who helps himself to a thing he wishes is following an instinct that is fundamental but misdirected. The boy whose restlessness in the school is continually creating a disturbance is not necessarily incorrigible. His nature is to roam and he labors under more or less artificial restrictions when he is compelled to confine himself to one task. He craves activity and unless the school furnishes considerable opportunity for the satisfaction of this craving, the boy must make the opportunity for himself.

Cleveland was the first city in the land to realize this necessity. The present Boys' School is the result. This school, first organized in 1876, was intended for truants and incorrigibles from the school

system. In the process of development there have been included children who had been subject to court procedure. The school is partly a day-school and partly residential. The day-school includes those children who have been transferred by the school authorities because they were creating a disturbance in the regular school rooms. The residential or detention part of the school includes those who are waiting disposition by the Juvenile Court.

Probably most of the children have normal ability. The principal reports that 80 per cent of the pupils make good when they leave the school. At the present time there is no way of questioning or of verifying the statement. A record of the progress of the boys is not kept so the statement is one of general impression rather than of ascertained fact. Granting that the statement may be verified by a study of the careers of the children, there still remain 20 per cent of the pupils about whom there is some reasonable doubt. What happens to them is a very important question. They may also make good but the supposition is that some of them fail. Why they do is a problem which should be studied in the very near future. Questionable statements have been made as to the number of delinquents who are feebleminded. No one knows how many of these misfits are below the normal standard in mentality. We should find out for our own school. Every child who is admitted to the school should be examined to determine whether or not he is feebleminded.

The results of the school régime are highly com-

mendable. The children make better progress and are much more amenable to discipline than they were in the schools from which they came. Reports are current that many children, unmanageable before admission, become among the most easily managed in the school. Some, whose truancy from the regular schools had been almost chronic, were not absent one day during the time they attended the Boys' School.

Nevertheless commitment to this school should be used only as a last resort. Separation of the boy from the community can only be from the same motive as that which leads to the segregation of the criminal. The boys are an inconvenience to us. We treat them in the same way as we treat those who will not conform to the standards set by society. But for many of those convicted of crime we are coming to believe that the best method of treatment is not segregation but life in the community. Thus the parole system and the probation officer are becoming common adjuncts of our courts.

For the same reason we consider that the segregation of the delinquent and the truant is not the most desirable method of procedure. Special classes for incorrigibles should be organized in the regular schools. The classes for the present would not take the place of the school, but commitment to the school should take place only after a period of probation in the special classes for incorrigibles. The activities of these classes would probably be much the same as those of the present school and only in the case of a

boy who failed to respond to this treatment would transfer to the school be considered.

To summarize: Cleveland was the first city in the United States to organize a class for incorrigibles. The present school is doing excellent work, but the treatment of these children requires a more social point of view. Special classes where the children would not be altogether separated from other types of children should be tried. A diagnosis of mental status should precede transfer to a class for incorrigibles.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIALLY INCOMPETENT

The children we designate as socially incompetent are those who will never be able to associate on terms of equality with so-called normal people. For one reason or another they must always be under supervision and direction. The three types of socially incompetent with which we are familiar are the insane, the epileptic, and the feebleminded. Most of the seriously insane have been segregated. For the epileptic and the feebleminded, the public schools have assumed more or less responsibility.

The Epileptic

From the social point of view, the epileptic are not materially different from the feebleminded. They usually display in the early stages a marked degree of mental deficiency. Almost without exception they fail to maintain themselves as independent members of society. No one who suffers from epileptic seizures should be in the regular schools. His presence handicaps the other children and he is in an environment which tends to exaggerate his difficulty.

During the past year one class for epileptics was in operation. It was an unsatisfactory arrangement from the standpoint of the epileptics. Only four members of the class were the kind of children for whom it had been organized. The other children, seven in number and mostly of foreign birth, were in the class in order that the teacher might have enough to do. Such a combination should never be permitted. To the epileptic it is not an advantage. To the foreigner it is seriously harmful.

The epileptics were low-grade mentally and, had it not been that the teacher was engaged part of the time in the instruction of the foreign children, the expense of the class would have been unjustifiable. In any case the epileptic child presents an unsatisfactory pedagogical problem. In cases where seizures are frequent or violent, education in academic subjects is a useless procedure. These children were of this type. One member of the class was reported by the teacher to have had as many as three violent seizures in a day. With each attack there were periods of unconsciousness and the characteristic foaming at the mouth. Such a child is a hopeless case for educational procedure.

These children require medical care and instruction which can be better provided elsewhere. For the worst cases custodial care is the only satisfactory arrangement. To cases of a milder type the public schools may well give some training, such as is later described in sections dealing with the care of the feebleminded.

Several different criteria have been given to differentiate feebleminded from normal. Some people have claimed that the criterion was inability to make progress in school subjects. Scholastic acquirements do not, however, form a satisfactory basis of classification. There have been cases where children made good progress in the school work and were later shown to be feebleminded. Other children who failed in the required work have clearly shown that they were not feebleminded. On the whole it may be said that the feebleminded will make very unsatisfactory progress in the schools, but in individual cases it will not do to make school progress the criterion of normality.

Another criterion is the ability to communicate with one's companions.* The lowest grade of the feebleminded is unable "to communicate with his kind by speech," that is to say, he can "neither express his thoughts verbally nor understand the verbally expressed thought of others . . . " Higher grades are defined by their greater or less ability to communicate with others by means of writing. For many cases these characteristics are distinguishing marks, but they are not absolutely safe criteria. Many children who use the language quite fluently are much lower in the scale of mentality than others who have not the same facility of expression. Feeblemindedness is not a defect of

* Binet, Alfred, and Simon, Theodore. "Mentally Defective Children." Translated by Drummond, W. B., p. 77.

articulation or a deficiency in the use of language, although the feebleminded frequently show marked deficiency in speech.

Some students of feeblemindedness have endeavored to devise a mental measuring rod. It is assumed that individuals vary in ability as they do in height or weight. These authorities claim that measurements of mental ability should be made in the same way that we may measure the height or the weight of an individual. If we take the heights of all adult individuals in a community, we find that there are many of nearly the same height. Some are a little taller than these and about an equal number are a little shorter. The heights follow what is known as the normal curve of distribution. The largest number are found at about average height. On each side of the average are about equal numbers who are so many inches taller or shorter. In the same way most people are average in intelligence. Some are brighter and more capable. About an equal number are somewhat slower. Further removed from the average are approximately equal numbers of the exceptionally bright and the exceptionally dull.

In making measurements of the heights of people, we do not find that they are divided into groups, all the members of a group being of exactly the same height. The members of any group vary above and below a unit in such a way that a clear-cut dividing line cannot be drawn between any two groups. For example, people are measured as five feet six inches, and as five feet seven inches in height. They are

not of exactly one or the other height. Some are a little above one unit and below the other. They vary between the two units in such a way that at no one place is there a transition from one height to the other.

In exactly the same way there cannot be made an absolute division between two groups of people who are supposed to have different degrees of ability. We pass by imperceptible gradations from those who are very dull to the ones just below the average. Through this group we pass by similarly imperceptible steps to those of average and those of more than average intelligence. At the extremes are those whom we have known as the mentally exceptional. Their number is relatively small, as the number of those who are either dwarfs or giants is relatively small. In the center of the scale are all those whom we know as normal; those who are not exceptional because there are so many of whom similar things may be said.

For many years scientific students of quantitative psychology have been working hard in the attempt to develop measuring scales for general intelligence. Most of the scales so far developed have consisted of series of tests or tasks of increasing difficulty. The object has been to arrange these so that the subject who was being tested would begin with the easiest tests and continue to more difficult ones until he would reach a point where he could no longer proceed. The point reached would indicate the degree of his mental ability. Some of the tests that have

been devised are intended to reveal the ability of the subject in solving puzzles; others depend on mathematical reasoning; others on mechanical ability; others on ability to answer questions; others on ability to follow instructions. Still other scales recognize the complexity of the qualities comprehended in the vague term "general intelligence" and endeavor to combine many types of tests within one general scale.

Up to the present time no one fully satisfactory scale has been devised for testing general intelligence. Even should such a scale be devised, there could be no point on it which would clearly separate the feebleminded from the normal. We do not call all people tall or short because they are above or below a specified height, but some individuals are too short for a certain purpose, such for example, as military service. In a similar way individuals have too little intelligence for a certain purpose. It is in relation to this purpose that one is feebleminded and another normal. Has the individual sufficient ability to maintain himself independently of external assistance? If he has, he is not feebleminded. If he has not, he is feebleminded. Can an individual support himself or will he need the guiding hand of another? This is the fundamental question and no one who fills the requirements of self-support will ever be called feebleminded.*

* Cf. Fernald, W. E. "The Diagnosis of the Higher Grades of Mental Defect."

Probably a better analogy may be drawn between the physical strength and the intelligence of individuals than between intelligence and height. Methods of measuring the strength of people have been very accurately worked out but there is no criterion yet developed which separates all people into groups of weak, normal, and strong. Nevertheless some people are stronger than others and the strongest may very easily be distinguished from the weakest. But between the three groups of weak, normal, and strong, there are no clear-cut dividing lines. We pass by imperceptible gradations from those whose strength is least to those whose strength is greatest. At the upper end of the scale are the exceptionally strong, those who correspond to the intellectually great. In the middle of the scale the normal in strength, as the normal in intelligence, are found. At the lower end of the scale we find the physically weak, as in the mental scale we find the mentally weak. At this end of each scale there are those whose weakness is an insuperable barrier to the maintenance of an independent existence.

By this criterion of self-support apparently the only way to make a final diagnosis is to observe the result. When one has shown his lack of ability to maintain himself independently of others, an incontestable diagnosis is made. If observation of the result were absolutely necessary, a diagnosis beforehand would be impossible. But it is not necessary to wait until the subject dies to give a diagnosis of mental status, any more than it is necessary for the

physician to wait until an autopsy is performed to discover the type of disease with which he must deal. When a child not yet self-supporting is diagnosed as feebleminded, it means that on reaching adult life he will still need supervision. A diagnosis of feeblemindedness is essentially a prognosis, a prediction of continued helplessness. Certain signs are sufficient, and when the evidence is produced, a verdict may be rendered that the individual has not ability to learn to manage his own affairs with the degree of prudence necessary for an independent existence.

No one who can manage his own affairs so that he will not need supervision can ever be called feebleminded. It is not necessary that there be added to this criterion the notion that the individual must maintain himself in the circumstances in which he was born. Such a confusion in a statement of the requirements results from the fact that there are many offspring of professional or business people who can never learn to conduct successfully a similar business or profession. They are unable to use the complex processes necessary in adapting themselves to the conditions of such a life. They would make their own way if allowed to live in less complex environments. The environment of the day laborer is simple enough for many of these people, but the traditions of the family will not allow them to reach this level. As a result, they must always receive assistance.

We are not concerned with such cases. Only those

who are incapable of maintaining themselves in any station of life without external support are feebleminded. The person who has not sufficient ability to maintain himself as a lawyer or a physician but who has the ability to maintain himself as a lawyer's clerk or as a bricklayer's helper is not considered. Such an individual must either adjust himself to the class in which he belongs or must receive assistance from those who have a personal reason for wishing him to remain at the higher level. Our concern is for those who are unable to support themselves without supervision no matter how simple their occupation may be.

The Number of the Feebleminded

Approximately one-half of one per cent of all school children have been said to be of too low a grade mentally to be fit subjects for public school education. Some of the very low-grade children are kept at home, a permanent burden to their parents. When this means of support is lost, the responsibility is assumed by other relatives or is thrust upon the community. About three and one-half per cent more are mentally dull. They are not feebleminded according to the definition laid down here, although many of their number will not become truly independent members of the community. Our definition of feeblemindedness applies only to those who will not become self-supporting. In Cleveland 2,077 children, approximately three per cent of the school population,

have been in the schools three or more years longer than the grade in which they are would indicate. All of these children may be considered suspects.

To summarize: The socially incompetent are the insane, the epileptic, and the feebleminded. Socially the epileptic do not differ from the feebleminded. Lack of ability for self-maintenance distinguishes the feebleminded from the normal. It is high time to discover the reasons for the excessive retardation of 2,000 Cleveland school children.

What We Do For The Mentally Exceptional

Cleveland has made a number of experiments with children who were unable to keep in step with the curriculum prescribed for the regular grades. Not all of these are feebleminded, nor are all mentally defective children included in the classes organized for the mentally exceptional. A considerable portion of the feebleminded are still retained in regular grades. Of the children who have been separated from the regular grades, a large percentage can easily be made self-supporting. Our problem is to describe the classes which have been organized, leaving for later investigations the problem of determining how many of the members are incapable of maintaining an independent existence. The classes as they now stand are: (1) The Industrial School and training centers; (2) backward classes; and (3) classes for defectives.

The first industrial school was organized for backward children coming from all parts of the city. To be eligible for the advantages of this school, a pupil must have reached at least the sixth grade and be two years over-age. One might think that such a requirement would be a fairly high standard and that no one who could be classed as feebleminded would be admitted to the school. If the requirements for admission to the sixth grade were absolutely constant, the conclusion might be justifiable. As a matter of fact, children who have not the ability to do the work of the upper grades are found in them. It seems probable that some of these have been selected for the industrial school.

In the other industrial schools whose names have recently been changed to training centers, the children are of lower grade. These centers have been designed for the training of the feebleminded, and there seems to be little reason to doubt the diagnosis in the majority of cases.

Some of the teachers in these schools had been in the regular grades. Others are teachers of one subject for which they had received special training. In each case the school is supervised by a principal of a regular elementary school of which the industrial school is a branch.

These schools are in special buildings, annexes of regular grade schools. The material and equipment provided for the classes are good. Work-benches, sewing-machines, cooking utensils, with other equip-

ment and material, are of good quality and are provided in sufficient quantity.

In each of the schools the time is about equally divided between instruction in academic and industrial occupations. For the Elementary Industrial School this division may be satisfactory. The majority of the children are able to profit by instruction in the academic subjects. Some of them complete the work of the technical high schools. Many do not go beyond the work prescribed for the elementary grades. This stage being reached, the possibility of further progress is limited.

In the training centers the number of children who can profit by instruction in reading and writing is quite limited. During the progress of the Survey a group of pupils assembled in one center for a lesson in reading. The lesson for the day and for many other days was written on the blackboard. The pupils "read." But the ones who did not look at the board succeeded as well as those who did. Many of the class simply recited a series of words which had been memorized by frequent repetition.

In their ability to write they did not show up much better. They were asked to write from dictation the following sentence: "A heavy load on the wagon makes it hard to pull." The task was utterly beyond their abilities. The words they wrote had no relation to those dictated.

The manual training in many cases is not more satisfactory. A teacher in one school reported that his best pupil was making excellent progress. As a

result of the report the following conversation took place:

Survey—"Suppose you had this boy to train for five years in work in which he is most successful, what would you be willing to pay him for his services at the end of the training?"

Teacher—"I think probably $1.50 per day."

Survey—"Would you be able to give him instructions, leave him to his own devices, and still be willing to pay him at the same rate?"

Teacher—"Oh, no, that could not be done. In order to be able to pay him that amount, I would have to be with him all the time and supervise everything he did."

Survey—"Suppose you had 10 boys all as good as this one and all with the same training, would you be willing to pay each of them at the same rate?"

Teacher—"That could not be done. You see, these boys take every moment of one's time and you would not be able to do any work."

Survey—"Suppose you had 10 such boys, how much would you be willing to pay them?"

Teacher—"Not more than $1.00 per day."

One needs no more evidence to determine his judgment of the value of the training which results after five years of careful and painstaking effort on the part of a teacher in making the boys worth only $1.00 per day and that amount only under direct and constant supervision.

School and Classes for Backward Children

For backward children there are two arrangements —a special school, and special classes in the regular school. The children sent to the school are supposed to be two years behind the grade for their age. For the special classes a specific requirement is not made. Any child not making satisfactory progress in the grades may be transferred to one of these classes. The arrangements for transfer are made through the office of the superintendent. There is no determination of mental status for admission to the school or the classes. The result is that some feebleminded children are admitted.

The teachers of the classes have been regular grade teachers. Each has been selected on the recommendation of the principal or the assistant superintendent because she apparently had the requisite qualifications. In the majority of the cases the selection has been satisfactory.

Provision for the work is in all respects similar to that of the regular grades. The school is in one of the more recently constructed buildings. The rooms for special classes in the regular schools are similar to rooms used by other classes. The equipment is likewise similar. In the regular schools the equipment used by the normal children is in most cases used by children in classes for the backward.

Practically the same kind of work is done in these classes as is done in the regular grades. The amount of time given to the manual or industrial work is supposed to be the same as in other classes. As a

matter of fact, it varies with the different groups of backward children.

It seems quite likely that a large proportion of the children sent to these classes are going to make their own way in the world. Undoubtedly some of them are not.

Classes for Defectives

Classes for the defectives are supposed to be for lower grade children than are found in classes for backward children. On the whole, the children are quite low grade—in several instances they had been inmates of institutions for feebleminded.

Of the 18 teachers, nine have had special training for the instruction of the feebleminded. They have been teachers in various training schools for such people, their periods of service ranging from two to 25 years. Four of the teachers reported that they had attended courses in various institutions where the training of the backward and the feebleminded was considered.

The provision for the classes is on the whole very satisfactory. With two exceptions the rooms visited were regular classrooms. These two were notable exceptions. They were dark, gloomy basement rooms which showed their location quite plainly by the damp, foul air. So dark was one of these rooms that, unless artificial light was provided, the member of the Survey found it impossible, on one of the brightest summer days, to see the writing on the wall

opposite which he sat and opposite the side on which the windows were.

All the material considered necessary for the conduct of the classes is provided in abundance. A list of material, regularly supplied, is sent to teachers twice a year. At these times they are required to send in a request for what they will need during the following six months. At the beginning of each school term the supplies are sent to the school. If the teacher has limited her requests to the kind of material mentioned in the lists, all that she has asked for is sent.

The unsatisfactory part of the arrangement is that no one is familiar with the needs of the classes. Each teacher is practically a law unto herself. There is no organization which coördinates the work of all the classes, and when a teacher requires material which is not on the specified list there is considerable difficulty in procuring it. The report from all the teachers was to the same effect. They could always procure as much of the standard material, such as reed, raffia, and weaving yarn, as they required, providing that the requisition was sent in at the time specified. If one required material which was not on the list supplied, she either substituted less satisfactory material or procured what she needed from her own resources.

If any material regularly supplied was required at a time other than that at which supplies were delivered, it might be procured by sending a special messenger to the Supervisor of Requisitions and

Reports. A request of this kind is invariably met cordially and in a system where changes were seldom made this would be all that could be expected. In a system where the classes are established at irregular intervals and teachers are transferred during a school term, the plan offers some disadvantages. A teacher appointed just after one requisition is made must wait at least one term for material, for which she asks, to be delivered.

The equipment for the work is handled in about the same way. Handlooms, sewing-machines, work-benches, and similar articles are provided. They must also be ordered a considerable time in advance of their expected use. With the lack of supervision the teachers do not know just what equipment is supplied. As a result classes lacked equipment which could have been procured without difficulty. A teacher reported that "on a chance" she had put in a request for a handloom. After the vacation she was much surprised to find the article in the classroom. This teacher was one of those who had been taken from a position in a training school for feeble-minded for the express purpose of teaching one of the classes for defectives.

The work in the classes varies greatly. Each teacher plans for the work with which she is most familiar. Because of this the type of work and the relative amount of manual and academic work differ considerably. One teacher reported that she gave all the time she possibly could to manual work, and were it not for the fact that she thought it understood

that some attempt should be made to teach children to read and write, all the time would be devoted to manual work. Another teacher reported that all she did of the manual work was a little sewing and paper-cutting. These two views represent the extremes. The other teachers gave varying proportions of the time to the different subjects.

The value of the work may fairly well be judged from the following illustration.

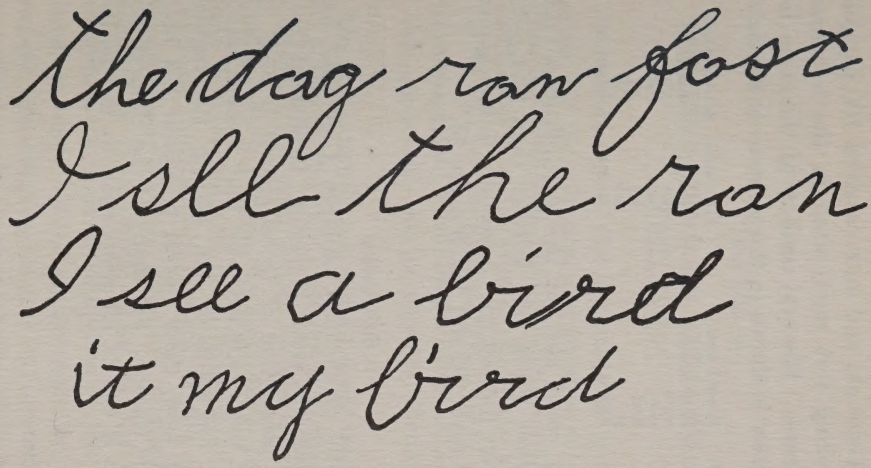
A has spent at least seven years in one special class and was three years in the regular grades. Many hours have been spent by different teachers in the attempt to teach him to read, write, and carry on the simplest operations in arithmetic. As a result the boy is able to write laboriously such simple words as "my," "see," "dog." He wrote the sentence, "I see my dog," but never would have finished had the teacher not constantly urged him to continue. As it was, the success was meaningless, for the boy did not know the individual words. They were as unintelligible to him as the characters of a foreign language are to one who has only learned to copy them. When the task was completed, the boy was asked to name the words. He called "my" "have," and "dog" he called "see." The city has paid about $1,000 for his education to date.

In manual work progress was hardly more satisfactory. The best attempt that the boy had made was to weave, during the course of a day, a very coarse and crude bottom for a small raffia basket. The teacher proudly displayed the evidence of her

pupil's skill. She failed to realize that such ability would be useless to her charge except as a means for his own amusement. The work was so crude, that even when completed, if that should ever be, the basket would have no market value. Suppose we grant that the purpose of the schools is the development of the child regardless of the value of the product, it is easily seen that the result with the boy is not very satisfactory.

B is 17 years old and can cane a chair well enough to make it serviceable. No one would employ him to do the work if neatness were required. The caning was strong enough but lacked the finish necessary for a marketable product. For institutional work it might be passable.

This accomplishment is not the only one *B* possesses. Sometimes he amuses himself by reading fluently in a sixth grade book. Each word is pronounced, sometimes slovenly but always with sufficient distinctness so that one can understand what he says. We said he "reads." He made the sounds which we should make if the same story had been given to us to read. But what *B* did should never be called reading, for reading implies that the meaning of the words is grasped. There should be some knowledge of the content of the passage read. Such a feat was too much for *B*. After going over more than a page of the story he was asked to tell what he had read. The story was summed up in the one word "horses," the last word he had seen. *B* had



Writing from dictation. First two specimens by boy after four years' training in special class. Third and fourth specimens by another boy after six years' training in special class. Teacher spelled words aloud, letter by letter. Fourth specimen is boy's attempt to write "It is my bird I see." This boy was being trained on spelling of "playground, usual, since, asked, dragged, himself, pretty, many, pale, unlucky, chase, precious, lived, money"

been in the schools almost as long as many who had reached the final year of high school.

C is 13 years old and once received 100 per cent on the spelling test reproduced in the left hand columns below. His oral spelling of the same list one week later is shown in the columns to the right.

First week	Second week	First week	Second week
busy	bl bl blos son	think	thnck
mice	mise	sit	sht
care	carl	now	no
had	had	by	by
as	as	ink	ink
corner	cornrn	mouse	mose

This boy could also say the multiplication table as far as three times 12. Further than this point his knowledge did not go. According to his calculation, 5 × 9 make 50 and 4 × 9 make 54.

Summary

For mentally exceptional children Cleveland has organized different types of classes. In some of these classes the proportion of feebleminded is high, in others very low. It is probable that a considerable number of feebleminded are still in the regular grades. In most cases liberal provision has been made for the classes. For many of the children the expenditure is out of all proportion to the results obtained.

CHAPTER V

THE SELECTION OF FEEBLEMINDED CHILDREN

A short time before the beginning of the Survey a method for the selection and transfer of children to classes for defectives was definitely outlined. Previous to this time the transfer had been made in the same way as for the other special classes. Under the new arrangement selection and transfer are entirely in the control of the Division of Medical Inspection.

The initial selection is usually made by the teacher who sees that the child does not progress as rapidly as others. The child is then referred to the medical inspector by whom an examination is made to discover if there are any removable physical defects. The high quality of the work of the Division of Medical Inspection is sufficient warrant that the examination is thorough. Through the medium of the school nurse an investigation of the social conditions is made. Such an investigation has for its purpose the discovery of any environmental conditions which might account for the child's retardation. The work of the nurses has been highly commendable,

especially so, when one considers that they are doing work for which their training was not intended to qualify them.

An examination is given for the purpose of ascertaining the mental status of the child. This is made by one who in the superintendent's report is listed as the Binet Expert. The examination is made by means of the Binet-Simon, or as they are commonly called, the Binet tests of intelligence.

What Are the Binet Tests?

In 1905, two French psychologists, Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon, published a series of tests arranged in order of increasing difficulty. The easiest tests of the series should be passed by the three-year-old child. For different years of age a certain number of tests were provided. A child was supposed to pass the tests prescribed for his age. If he could not do so he was considered a backward child, the degree of backwardness being determined by the number of tests which he failed to pass.

Three years later the tests were revised. This revision was translated into English and the tests were used with American children. It was soon determined that the tests as then arranged were not altogether satisfactory for children of this country. Variations and revisions were suggested. Probably the most widely used revision is that of Dr. H. H. Goddard, published in 1911. The changes which have been made in the series are of minor importance.

As revised, the tests for ages three to 12 are here presented in very brief form.

For a child of

Three years

1. Points to nose, eyes, and mouth.
2. Repeats six syllable sentence.
3. Repeats two numbers.
4. Enumerates objects in a picture.
5. Gives full name.

Four years

1. Gives sex of self.
2. Names simple objects.
3. Repeats three numbers.
4. Compares length of two lines.

Five years

1. Compares 3 and 12 and 6 and 15 gram weights.
2. Copies a square.
3. Repeats 10 syllable sentence.
4. Counts four objects.
5. Makes rectangle from two triangles.

Six years

1. Knows time of day—morning or afternoon.
2. Defines common objects in terms of use.
3. Executes three commissions given at once.
4. Indicates right hand and left ear.
5. Chooses prettier of faces.

Seven years

1. Counts 13 objects.
2. Describes action of pictures.
3. Notices lack of parts of faces.

4. Copies diamond-shaped figure.
5. Names four colors.

Eight years

1. From memory, compares paper and cloth, etc.
2. Counts backward, 20 to 1.
3. Repeats days of week from memory.
4. Gives total value of three 1c. and three 2c. stamps.
5. Repeats five numbers.

Nine years

1. Gives 16c. change from 20c.
2. Defines better than by use (cf. No. 2 for six years).
3. Gives date.
4. Gives months from memory.
5. Arranges 15, 12, 9, 6, and 3 gram weights in order.

Ten years

1. Names nine pieces of money.
2. Draws two designs from memory.
3. Repeats six numbers.
4. Solves easy problems.
5. Uses three given words in two sentences.

Eleven years

1. Recognizes absurdity in statements.
2. Uses three given words in one sentence.
3. Gives 60 words in three minutes.
4. Gives three words which rhyme.
5. Arranges given words to form sentences.

Twelve years

1. Repeats seven numbers.

2. Defines charity, justice, and goodness.
3. Repeats 26 syllable sentence.
4. Resists suggestion in length of lines.
5. Solves problem of described situation.

These tests have won rapid and wide-spread use and endorsement among many practical workers with children. Previous tests and measuring scales for intelligence have been largely restricted in use to workers in psychological laboratories. The reason for the rapid success of the Binet-Simon method is that it makes available for the first time a set of tests arranged with reference to steps on a scale that is constant and universally understood. We all have a fairly accurate idea of what is meant when we are told that a given child shows intelligence equal to that of a normal child who is 10 years old. In the case of the earlier graded tests, no one knew what the steps on the scale meant in terms of anything else or where the lower end began or how far the upper end reached. The contribution of the Binet-Simon scale in this respect was so great and important that it is not surprising that these tests immediately came into wide-spread use and that subsequent tests have embodied some of their features.

The Use of the Binet Tests

When children are being examined by means of the Binet-Simon scale, the one who passes successfully all the tests for children of his age is recorded as having normal mentality. In other words, his men-

tal age is the same as his physical or chronological age. If he can succeed only in those tests given for a child a year younger than he, he is backward to the extent of one year. In a similar way the tests may show that he is backward to the extent of two years or three years. If he is more than three years backward, he is considered mentally defective.

To allow for some unevenness in development, certain allowances are made in scoring the results. A child is scored as having the mental development of the highest age for which he has succeeded in all the tests save one. If he has succeeded in all but one test for nine years and all but one for 10, he is still credited with the intelligence of a 10-year-old child. Moreover, after a child's intellectual level is found, he is advanced one year for each five higher tests that he has succeeded in and two years for each 10 tests that he succeeds in. For example, John is nine years old. He fails in two of the nine-year tests and would thus be classed as eight years old mentally. But he has done three of the nine-year tests and three of the 10-year tests, making six in all. He is therefore advanced a grade and called normal.

As the tests are administered in Cleveland, the child who is four years retarded and tests at 10 or less is considered feebleminded. Thus a child 14, 15, or 16 years old, who is shown by the tests to have a mental age of 10, is considered feebleminded. One who is 13 and tests at nine is recorded as feebleminded. The child who is nine and tests at five is called feebleminded. The child who by this method

is considered feebleminded and who passes the tests from eight to 12 is termed a moron. Thus the boy of 13 who tests at nine is considered a moron. This term is derived from the Greek word "moros" meaning foolish, and is used to designate the highest grade of feebleminded. The feebleminded child who succeeds on the tests for three years but fails on those above seven is classified as an imbecile. The child who is more than seven years old but who tests at less than three is considered an idiot.

The method of administering the tests in Cleveland differs only in detail from methods used with them elsewhere. But there has been sharp challenge, both in America and abroad, as to the validity of mental classifications based on these tests. Those who call into question the value of the result obtained by this method do not claim that the Binet-Simon tests are without merit. They say that they are valuable but not completely adequate. They claim that they should only be used by people who are thoroughly trained in other methods of psychological examination and that the use of the Binet tests should be supplemented by the use of other tests.

Those who claim that the Binet tests should be administered only by psychologists who are also versed in the technique of other forms of testing support their arguments by citing Binet himself who wrote, "A last word for those who desire to employ the method. Any one can use it for his own personal satisfaction or to obtain an approximate evaluation of a child's intelligence; but for the results of this

method to have a scientific value it is absolutely necessary that the individual who uses it should have served an apprenticeship in a laboratory of pedagogy or possess a thorough practical knowledge of psychological experimentation."*

In spite of this warning, these tests are being used in Cleveland and in many other cities as the ultimate criteria for classifying children according to their mental status. The tests are so easy to administer, the technique necessary for giving them may be so readily acquired, and the results are so satisfyingly definite that the temptation to use them is very great. Nevertheless it is well to consider different points of view concerning them. Without further comment on the tests we present several quotations.

"It (The Binet-Simon Measuring Scale) is without doubt the most satisfactory and accurate method of determining a child's mental development that we have, and so far ahead of anything else that has been proposed that as yet there is nothing else to be considered." (Goddard, H. H.: "The Binet Measuring Scale of Intelligence, What It is and How It is Used.")

" . . . yet it (The Binet-Simon Scale) has proved and is daily proving to be marvelously accurate and helpful. In the hands of an experienced person this scale will diagnose feeblemindedness to a fineness and accuracy that is little less than mar-

* "A Method of Measuring the Development of the Intelligence of Young Children." Alfred Binet. Translated by Clara H. Town.

velous." (Goddard, H. H.: "The Diagnosis of Feeblemindedness.")

"In more than one institution for mental defectives the whole treatment of the children is determined and conditioned on the basis of the mental level as determined by the Binet scale, and the results are uniformly satisfactory. In the public schools wherever it has been faithfully tried, it has not been repudiated, and more and more school people are coming to rely on the results obtained with it." (Goddard, H. H.: "The Reliability of the Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence.")

"Where we shall draw the line between the child whom we shall call a normal child with mental defects, and a subnormal or feebleminded child who is mentally defective, is a problem which cannot be wholly solved within the realm of psychology. No Binet-Simon tests, nor any other tests will inform us as to what we shall consider feebleminded. We define the feebleminded as a result of social conditions. He is the child who for his own good and for the good of society should be segregated for life." (Witmer, L.: "Children with Mental Defects Distinguished from Mentally Defective Children.")

" . . . many diagnoses of teachers, physicians, or nurses will be very misleading, often humorously absurd, and at times pernicious. The diagnoses that I make after an exhaustive study of all the available facts are quite at variance with the Binet rating in a considerable percentage of cases."

(Wallin, J. E. W.: "The Mental Health of the School Child.")

"An accurate and incontestable diagnosis of one of these borderline cases can be satisfactorily made only after a thorough physical examination of the patient, knowledge of the family history, personal history, especially the story of his infancy and early childhood, school history and records, social and moral reactions, sexual habits, emotional stability, interests, and the fullest inquiry as to his general information and practical knowledge. . . . The Binet tests, in the hands of competent examiners, usually corroborate the results of clinical examinations in the recognition of all degrees of mental defect in children under 10 and of pronounced mental defect in older persons. These tests are not so effective in the detection of slight mental defect in world-wise adolescents and adults. In other words, the Binet tests corroborate where we do not need corroboration, and are not decisive where the differential diagnosis of the high-grade defective from the normal is the question. . . ." (Fernald, W. E.: "The Diagnosis of the Higher Grades of Mental Defect.")

In summing up the value of these statements it should be understood that it is not a mere academic difference of opinion. It is decidedly important to determine the value of the tests. If the examination is to result in a diagnosis of feeblemindedness, it is essential that the method of the examination be

adequate and reliable, and the results of the examination trustworthy.

The Use of the Tests in Cleveland

For an examination the child is brought to the office of the examiner in the Administration Building of the Board of Education. In beginning an examination the general rule is to begin with tests for a year somewhat lower than that of the child's age.

During the progress of the Survey the testing of some of the children was observed. It would probably be unprofitable to discuss here the details of technique involved in the conduct of these examinations. In the opinion of the writer of the present report, the reliability and accuracy of the work would be improved by modifying the methods employed. This opinion applies specifically, first, to the method of recording the degree of success of the children in attempting to pass each subdivision of each test, and, second, to changing the method of giving directions to the children. In his opinion, the method of recording makes chance error possible, and the method of giving directions seems sometimes unduly confusing.

Nevertheless it is not the aim of this report to discuss these points in detail, but rather to show that even if the method of giving the tests were perfected to the utmost possible degree, the results would still be unsatisfactory. This is because the Binet-Simon tests alone do not constitute sufficiently accurate

and trustworthy indicators of the intellectual abilities of many children to render them final and reliable guides for pronouncing a child feebleminded or normal, or a moron or imbecile, as the case may be. The writer is in entire accord with Binet himself, who says that while any one may use these tests for his own personal satisfaction, it is absolutely necessary, if the results are to have a scientific value, that the individual using the tests "should have served an apprenticeship in a laboratory of pedagogy or possess a thorough practical knowledge of psychological experimentation." He is also in accord with Fernald in his opinion, cited on a previous page, that the Binet tests must be supplemented by thorough clinical examinations conducted by competent examiners.

There is one more serious objection to the method in which the results of the Binet tests are recorded and used in Cleveland and elsewhere. This is the setting up of certain fixed dividing lines between children classified as of differing degrees of mental ability.

Fundamental to a diagnosis is the notion that a child showing a certain amount of retardation is feebleminded, the grade being determined by the so-called "mental age." The condition is not peculiar to the use of the tests in Cleveland, but the recorded results for Cleveland children illustrate quite clearly the fallacy of the determinations. During the Survey the records of 100 examinations were observed and a tabulation of chronological age and "mental age" was made. The following report is

characteristic. Two children who do not pass higher than the tests for three years are classed as low-grade imbeciles. One of them had lived 16 years while the other had lived only six. No adequate consideration is given to the importance of the fact that one child is six and tests at three, while the other is 16 and tests at three. The difficulty arises from the arbitrary decision that a child of a certain "mental age" may be classified as of a certain grade of feeble-mindedness.

The fallacy of such a determination may be understood more clearly if we consider the relation of two children during their advancing years. At the age of three and six they are very different beings. The three-year-old child is unable to do many things which the six-year-old child finds easy. Ten years later the difference between the two has diminished, but we still realize that the 13-year-old one has some limitations compared to the 16-year-old one. Another 10 years pass. The difference, so marked in the first period, has almost disappeared. When they are 33 and 36 years old, no one would judge of their qualifications by reference to their ages.

For such a change Binet tests as used here make no provision. They do not allow for the progress that the six-year-old child might make before he reaches the present age of the 16-year-old one. Once retarded by four years and failing on the tests for the three-year-old child, the subject is rated as an idiot whether he has lived seven or 17 years. In the same way a child who is 14 years old and tests at 10 is

classified as feebleminded with the same certainty and definiteness as though he were 40 and tested at 10. The difficulty is that this method assumes to locate people in reliably definite classifications as to their mental abilities with the same certitude and precision as athletes are classified for competitions on the basis of their ages, weights, and previous performances.

The rating of the child as feebleminded, with these tests as the ultimate criteria, is the fundamental difficulty. Errors in technique or deviations from a prescribed methodology might easily be remedied. But these are the insignificant parts of the criticism of the Binet tests of intelligence. The real and important problem is their reliability as the final means of determining mental status. For this purpose, whatever the reliability of the technique or methodology, the tests are inadequate.

In Cleveland the methods used for examining children who are suspected of being atypical are unusually thorough and comprehensive in those portions preceding the psychological testing. Information is gathered for each child covering his school history, and the results of a physical examination, a medical examination, and a home investigation. This home investigation covers the history of the child in the matter of illnesses, data concerning his birth, important events in babyhood, family history, mother's history, father's history, personal capabilities of the child, social capacity, moral capacity, and industrial capacity. The schedules in use provide

for securing some 220 items of information under 13 heads. All of this work is unusually well done in this city. The one weak link in the chain is the method used in giving the mental tests on which the ultimate decision as to the child's mentality is based.

In the field of applied psychology there are available many different methods and a considerable number of recognized tests for mental ability. In many cases it is not essential that these enter into the examination of the child. Some cases of feeblemindedness may be recognized almost at sight. These are not the cases which present the greatest problem to the schools and to society. The difficult and puzzling cases are those on the borderland between normality and feeblemindedness, or those into which there enter conflicting factors which make a clear and rapid diagnosis impossible.

When these difficult cases are encountered, there should be available the highest grade of training and the widest experience in order to arrive at an accurate and trustworthy diagnosis. The decisions arrived at as a result of mental examinations are too consequential to be entrusted to the verdict of a single and restricted type of mental test. The whole situation may be likened to that which is presented when a person is undergoing an examination for tuberculosis. In conducting such an examination the physician makes a study of local symptoms and general symptoms. He makes a physical inspection. He acquaints himself with the patient's early history and home conditions. In many cases the physician is

able to arrive at a definite and trustworthy diagnosis after making these studies. In some cases he must go further. He must carry through definite tests on which his ultimate decision will depend. Several such tests are available. Among them we may mention palpation, percussion, auscultation, sputum examination, the tuberculin test, and the agglutination and serum diagnosis. Perhaps the most important of all these tests is the one involving a microscopic examination of the sputum.

In many respects there is a fair analogy between this test in the case of suspected tuberculosis and the Binet-Simon test in the case of suspected subnormality. In both cases the test involves a technique which may be mastered without prolonged preparation. In every large city sputum examinations are regularly conducted by laboratory workers who are not physicians and who are not competent to conduct any of the other tests for tuberculosis. In a corresponding way the Binet-Simon tests may be and are being conducted in Cleveland and elsewhere by examiners who have thoroughly mastered this special technique, but who are not trained psychologists and who are not able to administer the other available tests in the same field. Just as it would be foolish to entrust the final verdict in the case of the tuberculosis suspect to the microscopic examination and not be able to employ the other tests in case of doubt, so it is unwise in the case of suspected mental subnormality to have only the Binet-Simon tests as the final resource in reaching a decision.

In the case of the examination for tuberculosis, the well-equipped practitioner or hospital should certainly be able to call into service in case of doubt such tests as those of palpation, percussion, auscultation, the tuberculin test, and the agglutination and serum diagnosis in addition to the sputum examination. In a similar way the school system should have in its service an examiner competent to employ not only the Binet-Simon tests, but such other tests as, for example, the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale, the De Sanctis Graded Tests, the Healy Tests, the Terman Puzzle Tests, the Thorndike Mechanical Tests, the Ebbinghouse Completion Tests, the Swift and Terman Interpretation Tests, and the "Aussage" Tests, as well as tests of physical and motor capacity and those of sensory capacity.

As an illustration of the type of case which cannot be settled through the application of the tests of a formal and routine nature we may cite the examination of a five-year-old child recently conducted at a psychological clinic in another city. Several psychologists who took part in the examination were doubtful of the diagnosis. Not one of the examiners was ready to say whether the child was or was not feebleminded. Several months later the child was brought back for further examination. For three-quarters of an hour the clinician did practically nothing but roll a ball across a table to touch the hand of the child. At the end of that time a slight response was noted. The hands of the child began to move and the ball was returned part way across the table.

Shortly afterward the child was picking up the ball and throwing it much as would a normal child. The diagnosis, at the conclusion of the investigations, which included all fields from which additional information could be procured, was "normal mentality —apparently quite deaf." A period of training by an expert teacher of the deaf confirmed the diagnosis. In the course of six weeks this child learned as much as one expects from the ordinary deaf child in an even longer time.

Who Should Make the Mental Tests?

There is unanimity of agreement that the person who conducts the mental tests should be thoroughly competent in that work. The present report is based on the proposition that competency in this field involves ability to use a wide range of psychological tests and measures and a grounding in the theory and practice of applied psychology so thorough as to equip the psychologist to keep fully abreast of the important developments rapidly taking place in this branch of science. At the present time no one possessing these qualifications is in the employ of the Cleveland Board of Education, despite the unqualified zeal and diligent work of those engaged in giving the Binet tests.

In this city, as in other cities, there has been some question as to whether the mental tests should not be conducted by the school physicians rather than by a trained psychologist. But for the physician the problem of feeblemindedness is often regarded as

purely a medical one and a knowledge of the structure and function of the entire organism is the requisite for a diagnosis.

We have shown that the notion of feeblemindedness is one of social fitness. The feebleminded is the one who will never have the ability to maintain himself without assistance. The weight of evidence goes to show that most feebleminded children are offspring of similarly incapable people. It is not that the individual has degenerated, but rather that in the particular line there are serious limitations in the way of development. There is not a pathological condition from which the victims may be relieved by some treatment. All people are subject to similar limitations. The only difference between the normal and the feebleminded is that in the case of the latter the limitations are an insuperable barrier to the maintenance of an independent existence.

With the acceptance of this notion there is eliminated any serious contention that the medical practitioner is the only qualified diagnostician of mental status. We would not be considered as going on record that no medical practitioner is qualified to give a diagnosis of feeblemindedness. Our position is that by virtue of his training in the medical school alone he is not able to diagnose with a greater degree of accuracy than is the layman. Although several medical schools are considering the project, there is none in the country today where, as an undergraduate, one is given instruction which enables him to give an accurate diagnosis of feeblemindedness. The

physician who has not had a training supplementary to the standard course in the medical school is in the same relation to the problem of feeblemindedness that the student with the regular arts course in the college is to the problems of the medical sciences.

Diagnosis of mental status should be made by a clinical psychologist. The aim of psychology is to interpret various types of behavior. Some psychologists are concerned with the behavior of normal human beings. They never carry their observations beyond the confines of the laboratory of psychology. These people are in the same relation to the clinical psychologist as the experimenter in the medical laboratory is to the practising physician. Each of these research workers attempts to solve problems the solution of which will enable the practitioner to carry on his work more successfully. The clinical psychologist has been trained in the methods of the laboratory of psychology as the medical practitioner has been trained in the methods of the laboratory of physiology or of anatomy. He has then been trained in the actual operations of his profession by the examination of people of various degrees of intelligence as the medical practitioner is trained for the duties of his profession at the bedside of the patient. As the physician learns to differentiate the symptoms of the various diseases, the clinical psychologist learns to interpret the various forms of human behavior and to recognize the ones which indicate that the individual has sufficient intelligence to maintain himself independently of external support. If, for this purpose,

the psychologist also has an extensive medical knowledge, his services are so much the more desirable. His place, however, cannot be taken by the medical practitioner any more than the medical practitioner's place may be taken by the psychologist.

The Organization of a Division of Examinations

The clinical psychologist is the one upon whom the responsibility of the organization should rest. He should be the one to take the responsibility for all the activities which lead to the segregation of a child. For such a position a well-trained psychologist is necessary. He must be as well trained for it as the chief medical inspector must be for his field. The first step looking toward the satisfactory selection of the mentally exceptional is the appointment of a clinical psychologist. Well-equipped workers in this field are being trained in the graduate departments of several of the larger universities.

The second step is provision for one who will be responsible for the investigation of the environmental conditions. This assistant for the psychologist needs to be qualified for the position by an extensive period of training. At the present time the investigation of the social conditions is made by the school nurses. While the qualifications of these workers for their own fields are highly satisfactory, it is not to be expected that in a field for which they have not had the requisite training they can be equally satisfactory.

The training of this assistant must be in procuring reliable information of the environmental conditions.

Needless to say a physical examination should be given to make sure that the child does not suffer from physical disabilities. For this purpose an examination by a physician must be made. The coöperation of the present Division of Medical Inspection is sufficient. The high quality of the work of this division makes provision for any further assistance for the physical examinations unnecessary. All of them may be made by the officer of this division.

Not essential for a diagnosis, but quite necessary for the greater success of the psychologist's work, is the assistance of a recorder. The duty of such a person is to keep an accurate record of the reports presented from any source. The report of the physician, the facts elicited by the psychologist's assistant, the data of the psychologist's examination, should all be placed in a permanent record. The purpose of the record is, in the case of those about whom a definite diagnosis is made, to serve as evidence if the case ever comes up for review. In the most important cases, those in which the diagnosis was tentative, the record would be for the same purpose as we now keep records of school progress. The psychologist would need the information when the case returned for further examination at the conclusion of a period of prescribed training.

The amount of work which these people would be required to do is certainly sufficient to occupy the entire time of one person in each position. What

Cleveland must do is the same as any other community must do if the problem is to be handled adequately. A systematic examination of all the children who do not make satisfactory progress is necessary. It has already been shown that there are in the schools of Cleveland more than 15,000 children who are both over-age for their grades and making slow progress. There are nearly 7,000 who have repeated two years of their school work, while more than 2,000 have repeated three or more years of work. These numbers must be taken into consideration.

Summary

The Division of Medical Inspection is now responsible for the selection of all children assigned to classes for defectives. The mental status of the children is determined by means of the Binet-Simon tests of intelligence. These tests, though desirable as additional evidence in many cases, should not be used as the only available ultimate criteria for determining whether a child is an idiot, feebleminded, a moron, or normal. Such a decision is too consequential to be entrusted to the verdict of a single and restricted type of mental test.

The mental tests should be conducted by a thoroughly trained psychologist well versed in the use of many different sorts of tests and possessed of professional equipment sufficient to enable him to keep fully abreast of the rapid developments in this field of science. The psychologist will need assistants well

trained in the investigation of home and environmental conditions. After the most urgent cases have been cared for, the school system should undertake a systematic testing of all children who are making seriously slow progress or encountering unusual difficulties in their school.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR THE FEEBLEMINDED

This report recommends the establishment of special classes for the feebleminded. At the present time Cleveland cares for these children in special classes located in regular schools. It also has a school for the backward in which some of the lower grade rooms are filled with normal children. There should be a reorganization through which the seriously defective children would be segregated. In order to bring about such a reorganization, there should be a careful reclassification of the children. Those of approximately the same ability and of about the same ages should be grouped in classes. Probably the most widely known classification of the feebleminded is that of Dr. H. H. Goddard, which divides them into three main groups, each of which has three subdivisions. For school purposes such a classification is unwieldy; it is not necessary to have more groups than are necessary for the proper training of the children. For this reason we suggest three divisions which we will designate as A, B, and C; or high, middle, and low.

The first groups will include the highest grades. The children in it are in the main those designated by Barr* as high grade imbeciles. They may be trained to carry on under supervision an occupation in which they would be practically self-supporting. Some of this grade of the feebleminded, if later given an occupation in an industrial establishment where the same movements must be repeated over and over and nothing new is required of them, have been known to do very well. However, difficulty arose the moment the type of movement had to be changed. They then showed that their ability was not sufficient to enable them to adapt themselves to changing conditions. In school work most of them will never go much, if any, beyond fourth grade. They may be taught to read and write for their own pleasure and to do simple examples in arithmetic. They will not be able to use their ability at reading or writing as a tool for their own advancement. The limit of their capacity in arithmetic is stated by the superintendent of the Mass. Training School for Feebleminded to be probably below the ability to solve the following problem: "If you went to town with a dollar, and your trolley fare each way cost you five cents and you bought stamps for three letters, how much money would you have left on your return?" The child may know the value of the stamps. He knows the amount he would have to pay for trolley fare. He may be able to perform the operations of addition

* Barr, M. W.: "Mental Defectives. Their History, Treatment, and Training."

and subtraction when each of these operations is presented singly, but he is unable to make the combinations and solve the problem as presented. In other words the children whom we would place in this class are those who have sufficient ability to learn a trade by which they may earn enough to support themselves, if some one else makes the bargains and tells them when to do certain things.

The second group contains a lower grade of feebleminded. These are mainly the children designated by Barr as middle-grade imbeciles. They may be trained in manual occupations, but the actual processes of reading and writing and arithmetic are impossible. Some of these pupils may, by long and diligent drill, acquire ability to "read" a passage, to "write" some words, and to "count" a few numbers. The accomplishment of these activities is no more significant to these feebleminded than the ability to wag our ears would be to us, or the tricks of the pet dog are to him. By long and careful training the bright dog is trained to do a few "stunts." To the dog the trick is meaningless. As soon as he is released from the bondage which compels him to do these things, just so soon does the trick belong to the past. With us it is the same. Having acquired the ability to wag our ears, we amuse our friends for a time. As the novelty wears off the trick is neglected. It never aided us in bettering our circumstances. The reading, writing, and arithmetic tricks of the child who belongs in this group are of the same type. He can never use them as tools to better his condition in the

world. He has acquired an ability which for him has no market value. As soon as he is released from the compulsion of performance he forgets that he ever had the tricks. Some of the children of the present defective classes are of this type.

The third group is composed of all those too low to fit into the first two groups. They are those who are designated by Barr as low-grade imbeciles, idio-imbeciles, and idiots. The number who will go into this class is not great, since the majority of them never reach the schoolroom. The parents keep them at home waiting for the day when they will have developed sufficiently to be sent to school. A sufficient number do reach the school to make necessary some provision for them. Their ability is limited to very simple tasks. They may be trained to keep themselves clean and neat, but most of the time should be spent in playground activities. They are not able to acquire any habits which have a market value. A number of the children in the present special classes are included in this group.

The assertion is frequently made with reference to many of these children that their retardation is in academic studies alone. In manual work, that is, where one has to *do* rather than *say*, it is said that they are superior to many children in the regular grades. In individual cases it may be true that a nearly normal child not having the proper incentive or sufficient pressure brought to bear upon him, has failed in the regular classroom. He then may demonstrate his ability in industrial work because he is

given an incentive to do all that his ability permits. In the great majority of cases we may be certain that a statement of superiority is unfounded. If one places the normal child in the same conditions, his superiority in industrial work is shown as clearly as it was in academic studies. The feebleminded child is often able to do much better in manual than in academic work, but in neither is he able with the same training and opportunity to show himself superior to the normal.

The recognition of these three types of children makes us realize the necessity of adapting educational procedure to their needs. We suggest the establishment of three grades of classes to which the children belonging to the three groups may be sent. In each class will be given only that instruction for which the children have the ability. To the children of the lowest group there will be given neither complex manual nor academic work. Each child will be taught as far as possible to care for himself and to be as happy as possible. No time will be wasted trying to teach him things which can never be an advantage to him.

The children of the second group will be given no instruction in academic work. All the time will be spent in training them to do things with their hands. Brush-making, basket-weaving, chair-caning, and similar things may be taught these children. All of them ought to profit by this training to such an extent that later in an institution they could contribute to their own support.

The children of the highest group are the only ones to whom we shall attempt to teach reading and writing. They might learn to read sufficiently well to derive a great deal of pleasure from it. It would be useless to attempt to give them enough so that they might use the knowledge for much betterment of their own condition. Their limitations are definite and they are as unable to go beyond a certain stage as the children in the lowest and middle groups are unable to go beyond much lower stages. To them the academic subjects to the extent of the fourth grade might be given. Probably few would succeed in going so far.

In making this recommendation we run counter to the opinions of two groups of people. In the first place some assert that these children are more handicapped than their normal companions, but with a little more intensive training will overcome the handicap. The statement is in accord with the purpose of the special classes when first organized. It was then thought that the children who are now called defective were only somewhat slower than normal children. If given a little more opportunity, the defective would in the end almost equal the more fortunate children. Modern psychological research has shown that the belief in their ultimate success is not well founded. We know now that some children have ability to make so much progress and others just as surely lack that ability. Some of these are unable to learn to read or to write. They must be given the training by which they are able to profit, rather than more of the kind given to normal children. A child

placed in one of these classes will receive every advantage by which he is able to make progress.

The second objection is not so easily handled, but it can be answered. It is said that parents will demand that their children be taught to read and write. That this objection is a serious one it would be fruitless to deny. That it is not insurmountable we have evidence in the relative ease with which other objections have been overcome. There are still a few people who assert that a parent has the right to say whether or not his child shall receive any education. The number of these is very small, but only a few years have passed since many children were put to work without an education simply because the parents did not believe that the community had any authority over them. As a result there are many adults who cannot write their own names and who cannot get the news of the day except by spoken communications. The number of such people will be considerably smaller in the next generation, for even in this short time the idea that the state has the right to educate the children has received general acceptance. The parent who denies this right is now but seldom found.

Other objections have been overcome in a similar way. A few years ago no school system in the country had medical inspection. The same objection which had been raised to compulsory education was raised to the inspection of the school children by a physician employed by the state. At the present time the school system which has not some form of

medical inspection is several years retarded in the educational field. School lunches are a regular part of the day's activities in some schools, but from other places the cries of "parental responsibility" and "interference of the state in the affairs of the home" is still heard. It is claimed that the introduction of these methods has a tendency to pauperize the people. The same cry has been raised against the introduction of free text-books. The pauperization of the people of Philadelphia must be about complete on this assumption, for in that city free text-books have been so long the rule that "the memory of the oldest inhabitant runneth not to the contrary."

The tendency in all educational work is to see that the children have the best opportunity to make progress. The stage is reached where the fetich of parental responsibility is no longer occasion for serious concern. The entire energy of the schools is to be bent toward fitting the child for the position he will occupy. With this aim, if it is necessary to work against the wishes of the parent who is unable to realize the plight of the child, progress may be made, with the assurance that in a very short time the wisdom of the policy will be demonstrated. The parent will no longer object to a plan which is obviously best for the child.

To summarize: The feebleminded may be divided into three main groups. The individuals of each group should be trained in the things for which they have ability. The retardation of the feebleminded is not in school work alone, but they succeed less in it

than they do in the manual occupations. The objection on the part of the parents to the elimination of academic subjects will probably be only temporary.

Teachers and Supervisor for the Feebleminded

The highly paid teacher of some school systems for the instruction of feebleminded is an unprofitable investment. The plea is made that these highly paid teachers are research workers and experts in the training of the children. The difficulty is in showing that the results are in any way commensurate with the expenditure. Research work is usually intensive and can be carried on satisfactorily only by those who have special qualifications. Teaching a class for defectives is not research nor are the teachers sufficiently well trained for their work to be designated as research workers. Teachers whose services may be secured with a less expenditure of money will give just as satisfactory results with these children. If classes must be used as a laboratory, the number should be limited and individuals placed in charge of them whose qualifications are sufficient to make the work truly scientific.

For children of the lowest group, a highly qualified teacher is an expensive luxury. The essential qualifications for the management of such a class are found in a good nurse-mother. Such an individual need never have been trained for the work of regular grades. She must train the children to look after

themselves, and she must direct them in group activities. Much of their activity will be in games of the simplest kind. The present playground work contains all the activities for these classes.

The children of the middle group should have a teacher who knows manual work. She need not be familiar with the methods of instruction for children in academic subjects. She must know how to teach the children to make many simple articles. The teacher of the children in the highest group is the only one who needs to know how to teach reading and writing. Primarily the instruction will be in industrial and domestic work. The selection of the teacher should always be made with this in view. Considering the requirements for the teachers, there seems to be no necessity for them to be more costly to the school system than regular teachers.

One of the greatest lacks in the present system has been that of supervision. Each class has been a unit and independent of the others. A mistake made in one might be repeated by another, each teacher working out her own salvation. A successful plan or a happy idea in one has not been communicated to others since there is no medium through which the communication may be made. If two classes work along similar lines, it is mostly by chance.

Plans for the classes should eliminate chance methods. There should be some organization which will permit the experience of one class being an advantage to the others. For this purpose the most

satisfactory method is the appointment of a supervisor who will have authority to direct all the classes.

To summarize: The abilities of the pupils should determine the type of teachers who would be selected for the different classes. There seems to be no reason why the teachers of the feebleminded should be given greater compensation than teachers of the regular grades. The organization of all classes should be under the direction of a supervisor.

The Special School for Feebleminded

The special school rather than the special class is recommended for the feebleminded. The reason for this is that the pupils may be taught the necessary activities in the best possible manner and with the least possible expense. In all other school activities the object is to get the maximum result for the necessary expenditure. To make classes for the feebleminded the exception to this rule is to discriminate in their favor. The special class for defective children has everywhere been an expensive proposition. The per capita cost for the instruction of these children is greatly in excess of the per capita cost for the instruction of normal children. In the annual report of the superintendent of schools for 1914 the cost for the instruction in the regular elementary schools is given as $24.52 for each child, while in schools for defectives the cost is $63.70. The results do not justify the extra expense.

The organization of special schools would make the

instruction less expensive. In them children may be graded as they are in regular schools. Instead of classes with an average attendance of 10 or 12, we may have classes with an average attendance of 20 or 25. In such a case instead of a minimum of 15 to 20 teachers for each 200 children, there would be a maximum of from eight to 10. In this way the cost of instruction is reduced to approximately one-half of the present amount.

From some quarters the objection has been heard that the increase in the size of the classes is impossible. "Fifteen" seems to have some special importance for many engaged in the work. Why the number 15 rather than 12 or 18 should be chosen has not been shown. It seems to rest entirely on tradition. Goddard writes: "Experience has shown that individual attention cannot be given to more than 15." The statement has some validity if one considers the condition where children of all ages and all degrees and types of mental defect are grouped together. In no school for feebleminded should this be the case. The classes should be organized in such a way that children of about the same degree of mental defect and approximately the same age would be grouped together.

That the number in the class may easily be increased, ample proof is given in the experience of the Massachusetts Training School. The regular number in the classes is 25. Classes which are better conducted or in which greater progress is made by the children would be hard to find. But there is no

magic power in the number 25 any more than there is in the number 15. In some cases the number in the classes might be 20. In other cases it might be 30. In exceptional cases the number might be even less or more than these. The essential point is that, at present, the classes are not conducted in the most economical way. On the average the number of children to a teacher should be increased, but in each class there should be only that number which may be successfully handled.

Of the teachers who are engaged in the work, many realize the situation. Superintendents say that teachers could not be procured for these classes if the number of children in them were increased. They are listening to the statements of teachers as to what is possible under the present system, in which it is necessary to spend hours in the attempt to teach things which a child will forget shortly after the instruction period ends. The teachers do say that the number now included in the classes is sufficient, but it is usually with the supposition that the classes are to remain the same. They believe that teaching of reading and writing to the feebleminded will always be required. We would eliminate these studies in the case of those who are incapable of profiting by them. Under such conditions the teachers have claimed that they would be able to deal with more children. Some of them have said that a class of 35 would be no more difficult than the present classes.

Various objections to the special school have been

urged. It is said that grouping these children in one building "stigmatizes" them; instead of making life easier, the arrangement makes it harder for the feebleminded. But in the regular school the very slow ones are differentiated from the brighter by unpleasant epithets. Every one is familiar with the "dummy" or the "dopey doc" of the regular school. It did not require official segregation for these terms to be applied to the feebleminded. Instead of subjecting these children to more of the same kind of treatment, we are doing them the greatest kindness in separating them from those who often make their lives miserable. Surrounded by children of their own mental caliber, the feebleminded are much happier than if subjected to the torture which the brighter child sometimes imposes. In this respect Cleveland has already taken the initial step toward a satisfactory solution. In the organization of the training centers, the separation has taken place.

Our development is supposed to take place to a considerable extent by virtue of our association with people who know more than we do. It is claimed to be the same with the feebleminded. Segregated in a special school, they are debarred from association with normal people. They lose the opportunity which contact with their superiors is supposed to offer. This benefit to the feebleminded has been much exaggerated. A feebleminded child almost invariably finds his playmates among children younger than himself. The children of his own age do not want the feebleminded in the games because

he is unable to take his proper part. The first segregation of the feebleminded is not imposed by the school. The school only recognizes a segregation already made effective by other children.

The objection that special schools require large expenditures for the erection and equipment of buildings is hardly valid. It is true that in many cases schools would have to be built for the purpose. But this is not an expenditure which would be avoided if there were special classes in the regular schools. The space required by a feebleminded person is no greater in a special school than in a regular building. If children are sent to grade schools, more regular buildings must be erected than would otherwise be necessary. The cost of a special building for the mentally defective is less than the cost of special rooms in regular schools, for in the special building the classes are much larger and the number of rooms needed is smaller.

The cost of transportation for children who are sent to a school more distant than the nearest one might cause some misgiving. Even though there may be several schools located at convenient places throughout the city, there would be a number of children for whom transportation must be provided. One way of meeting this expenditure is through the saving effected on teachers' salaries.

To summarize: The cost of instruction for children in special classes in the regular schools is considerably greater than the cost if the children are properly grouped in special schools. The size of the classes in

the special schools would be greater than that of the present special classes, but in each class there would be only that number which might be successfully handled.

Little if any benefit is derived by the feebleminded from the associations of the regular schools. The special school will only recognize a segregation already put into effect by other children. The cost for special schools for these children should be less than the expenditure for rooms in the regular schools.

An Institution for the Feebleminded

The present provision for the feebleminded in Cleveland is for the period when they are too young to be a menace to themselves or to others. During the school period day schools are the most economical provision. Later in life the feebleminded should be segregated.

In the arrangements now provided and in the ones recommended, it is a serious question if we are not making these people actually more dangerous to society. Probably we are not able to care for the boys so that they will fit much better into the scheme of society. Of the girls the same assumption may not be made. Particularly are we in danger with the high-grade girl who, being trained to care for herself, becomes more attractive. By virtue of her attraction she may become the mother of illegitimate children or be married legally and have children who, like herself, will be incapable of maintaining an inde-

pendent existence. Plans for both boys and girls, when the period of compulsory education is over and when the possibility of reproduction is present, must be considered.

The cost of an institution has been stated to be in the neighborhood of $1,000 per inmate. Only under exceptional circumstances should the cost of an institution for feebleminded reach this figure. The Training School for Feebleminded at Waverly, Massachusetts, has been established at an initial cost of $680 per inmate. There is no reason why a similar institution for Cleveland should greatly exceed this cost.

Cleveland is in a particularly favorable situation for the beginning of an institution. The city owns approximately 2,200 acres of land within easy reach of the city. On this tract of land there are now erected the buildings for two institutions. Some of the land which is not needed by them might well be used for the feebleminded.

The erection of buildings is the most expensive part of the provision. The Training School at Vineland, N. J., has buildings erected at a cost of $50 per inmate. They are considered entirely satisfactory for their purpose, which is the housing of feebleminded adults in farm colonies. The buildings erected as permanent structures at Vineland and at Waverly, Massachusetts, cost approximately $400 per inmate. The Massachusetts school has buildings erected eight years ago at a cost of $37,000, which accommodate 105 inmates. Since that time the Vineland school has

erected buildings for 12 and for 20 inmates at a cost of $5,000 and $8,000 respectively. In neither case do the buildings contain provision for the preparation of meals. The extra cost of such equipment should not increase the total cost by $50 per inmate. Any number of complete buildings may be erected at a cost considerably less than $500 per inmate.

The initial cost being provided, there remains the continuous cost of maintenance. With efficient management the cost of keeping a person should not exceed by any considerable amount $200 per year. The cost at the Waverly School is $3.85 per week—almost exactly $200 per year. This cost includes everything provided for the inmates.

Such a continuous outlay has been considered by some as unjustifiable. At the same time these people have said that special classes in the regular schools should be established even though they did nothing more than keep the children off the streets for the time the school was in session. The authorities have been paying approximately $100 for a child four and a half hours per day for the days of the school year. When this fact is mentioned to many who oppose the segregation of the feebleminded on the basis of the expense, they are sure that what we now do is justifiable. If the expenditure of $100 is justifiable to keep the children off the street four and a half hours per day for less than 200 days in the year, it should be worth approximately $500 to keep the child off the street 12 hours in a day 365 days in

the year. This amount is 150 per cent more than the cost of maintaining a person in an institution.

Nevertheless the cost is so great that it may not be assumed without serious consideration. We believe that the return from such an expenditure justifies the urgent recommendation of it. Fernald states that nearly every town has its feebleminded woman who is the mother of one or more illegitimate children, children who will increase the burden of poverty, the burden of crime, and the burden of disease for future generations. The weight of the burden cannot be definitely determined but undoubtedly a large part of the expenditures for charitable and for penal institutions is necessary because of the presence of the feebleminded. It is undoubtedly true that a great decrease in these expenditures would take place if all of the feebleminded were eliminated. In an investigation of the mentality of prostitutes, Fernald found that more than 50 per cent were feebleminded. The cost of such a condition can hardly be estimated.

The state ought to assume the cost of the maintenance of such an institution. Already the duty of the state has been recognized not only for feebleminded but also for other handicapped children. State institutions are maintained for the deaf, the blind, the feebleminded, etc. Since the institutions have not facilities for the care of all these defectives, the state has decreed that it will pay specified sums to any community maintaining special schools for the deaf, the blind, and the crippled. So far the

feebleminded have not been included. They should be because they are a menace to the community. The only reason that many feebleminded in Cleveland are still at large is that provision by the state is inadequate. Since this is the case, the state might be persuaded to assist in the maintenance of these feebleminded in a Cleveland institution, if it would not bear the entire expense. To overcome the difficulty involved in local control of such institutions, supervision should be in the hands of the State Board of Administration.

A last objection must be answered. It is said that the parents will not allow their offspring to be sent to an institution. The statement is not true of many cases. There is not an institution in the country which has not a list of applicants for admission. Frequently provision for all applicants would nearly double the size of the institution. The children whose parents cannot realize the plight of the feebleminded need not be considered until provision has been made for those whose parents are willing to have them in an institution.

To summarize: For the welfare of society all the feebleminded should be permanently segregated when they reach maturity. Cleveland is in a favorable position for the beginning of an institution. The outlay for an institution is considerable but in view of the present expenditure of the schools and the future cost of the feebleminded to the community the expenditure should be undertaken by the state, or by the city, or by both in coöperation.

To meet the cost of maintenance, the state might be persuaded to contribute as it has in the case of the deaf, the blind, and the crippled. The establishment of an institution need not be postponed until there is legal provision for the commitment of the feebleminded. Many parents would be glad to be relieved of responsibility for the care of these unfortunates.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Cleveland was the first city in the United States to organize classes for exceptional children. There are now 12 different kinds of special schools and classes, the development of which has been rapid though irregular.

2. Universal compulsory education laws have forced children of widely varying abilities and different degrees of physical fitness into a scheme of things which had been devised to suit only the so-called average children.

3. The curricula should be arranged to fit the abilities of all the different types of children. This scheme involves the organization of special classes for the so-called exceptional children.

4. The exceptional children may be divided into two groups, the socially competent and the socially incompetent.

5. The socially competent will spend their lives in close association with normal people. They should, therefore, be educated as far as possible with normal children in the regular schools.

6. The socially incompetent, upon reaching maturity, should be permanently segregated. Their training should be given in special schools and should be for the purpose of making them partially self-supporting in institutions.

7. For the socially competent group of exceptional children, Cleveland has organized several types of classes, but in some of these the number of children is only a small proportion of those who need the special advantages.

8. The "Cleveland plan," which arranges for the instruction of the blind with the seeing children, is highly desirable and should be carried out with all the exceptional children who must spend their lives competing in a world of normal people.

9. A division for the instruction of the blind, under the direction of a supervisor, should be created.

10. The same plan of instruction should be used for the deaf as is now used for the blind. To increase the efficiency of the work, compensation for the teachers of the deaf should be sufficient to attract those with adequate training.

11. The cost of special classes for crippled children in the regular schools may exceed the cost of a special school, but the greater value of these classes more than compensates for the extra expenditure.

12. By providing open air rooms in the regular schools for the tuberculous and the anæmic, Cleveland has adopted the wise method of educating together those who must live and work together.

13. The rapid progress of foreigners in the

"Steamer" classes amply justifies their organization for all children who do not speak English.

14. Cleveland has made no special provision for the large number of children who are handicapped by defective speech. Teachers with special qualifications should be procured and work with these children commenced immediately.

15. There should be restoration classes for those retarded on account of illness or absence and for those of doubtful ability who are under observation. For these classes the teachers should be among the best of the school system.

16. The present Boys' School is doing excellent work, but the problem of the delinquent requires a more social point of view. These children should be given a probationary period in special classes for incorrigibles in the regular schools.

17. The socially incompetent are those who are incapable of maintaining an independent existence. Among them are the feebleminded.

18. The feebleminded are distinguished from the normal by their inability to meet the complex situations of our competitive social life.

19. Of Cleveland's school children, over 2,000 are so far behind the majority of children of the same age and school experience that they should be examined by a psychologist to ascertain whether or not they may be trained to live without supervision or assistance.

20. In some of the classes organized for the mentally slow there is a large proportion of feebleminded;

in others very few. Some of the feebleminded are still in the regular grades.

21. For most of these special classes liberal provision has been made, but the results obtained in the attempt to train many of the children do not justify the expenditure.

22. Children in the classes for defectives are given a physical examination by the physicians of the Division of Medical Inspection. Their home environment is investigated by the school nurses. The mental status is determined by the use of the Binet-Simon tests of intelligence.

23. The Binet-Simon tests, while valuable as part of the mental examination, should not be the sole available ultimate criteria for determining mental status.

24. The diagnosis of feeblemindedness should be made by a clinical psychologist who should have the coöperation of the Division of Medical Inspection and the assistance of a trained investigator of environmental conditions.

25. All children who have failed in two years of school work and are below the fifth grade should be examined by the psychologist. A permanent record of each examination should be kept.

26. For school purposes the feebleminded may be divided into three groups. To the children of the two lowest groups no academic work should be given. To the children of the highest group a limited amount of academic instruction may be given.

27. The teachers of the feebleminded children

need not be highly trained specialists and do not need to receive greater compensation than teachers of the regular grades.

28. The organization of all classes for the mentally defective should be under the direction of a special supervisor.

29. The classes for the feebleminded should be in special schools, since this arrangement allows a proper grading of the children with consequent larger classes and less expense for instruction.

30. For the segregation of the feebleminded when they reach maturity an institution should be provided by the state, or the city, or by both in cooperation.

CLEVELAND EDUCATION SURVEY REPORTS

These reports can be secured from the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio. They will be sent postpaid for 25 cents per volume with the exception of "Measuring the Work of the Public Schools" by Judd, "The Cleveland School Survey" by Ayres, and "Wage Earning and Education" by Lutz. These three volumes will be sent for 50 cents each. All of these reports may be secured at the same rates from the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Child Accounting in the Public Schools.—Ayres.
Educational Extension—Perry.
Education through Recreation—Johnson.
Financing the Public Schools—Clark.
Health Work in the Public Schools—Ayres.
Household Arts and School Lunches—Boughton.
Measuring the Work of the Public Schools—Judd.
Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan—Hartwell.
School Buildings and Equipment—Ayres.
Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children—Mitchell.
School Organization and Administration—Ayres.
The Public Library and the Public Schools—Ayres and McKinnie.
The School and the Immigrant—Miller.
The Teaching Staff—Jessup.
What the Schools Teach and Might Teach—Bobbitt.
The Cleveland School Survey (Summary)—Ayres.

Boys and Girls in Commercial Work—Stevens.
Department Store Occupations—O'Leary.
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